# The Outlook

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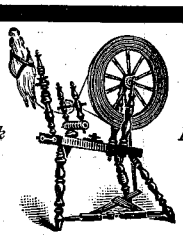

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# The Outlook

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1906


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*The Exclusion of Japanese Children*

Several weeks ago the Board of Education of the city of San Francisco, under the authority of a State statute, passed a resolution excluding all children of Oriental descent from the public schools of that city, and providing for their attendance at a school specifically set aside for them. Notice was served on the principals of all the schools, and on Monday, October 15, the rule became operative. The Korean and Chinese children obeyed the order of the Board; the Japanese refused to comply, kept their children at home, and promptly presented a formal protest and were accorded a hearing by the Board. The representative of the Japanese Consul called attention at the hearing to the hardship which the operation of the new rule would work on the small children of the people of his race, who are endeavoring to assimilate themselves to American conditions and to become American citizens, declared that the ruling was an injustice, and that unless it was reversed by the Board it would be tested in the courts on the ground that it was an illegal discrimination. The Rev. Dr. Johnson appeared as a representative of the Interdenominational Missions Congress then in session in Oakland, declaring that he represented two thousand delegates in attendance, and opposed the action of the Board as "unjust, unwise, un-American, untimely, un-Christianlike, and unfair." Other protests were made. The President of the Board took no ground in the issue, but declared that the Board had acted in good faith in the belief that the proposed segregation of children of Oriental descent was for their best interests. This action of the San Francisco Board of Education awakened great indignation in Japan and evoked strong expressions of protest, though it now appears that the first reports of the extent and intensity of the popular feeling, which were of an extremely alarmist character, indicating widespread and violent feeling against the United States, and even suggesting the cessation of diplomatic relations and ultimate collision between the two countries, were greatly exaggerated. The Japanese, who are a very intelligent people, are beginning to understand that San Francisco is not the United States, and that the action may not have been an expression of race hostility, nor an insult put upon the Japanese people.

❀

*Provisions of the Treaty*

The Japanese Ambassador at Washington has made an informal protest to the State Department, and has expressed his conviction that the action of the San Francisco Board of Education is in violation of the treaty of 1894 between the United States and Japan, which provides that the citizens or subjects of the two countries shall have full liberty to enter, travel, or reside in the territory of either country; enjoy full and perfect protection of person and property; have free access to the courts of justice; be at liberty to employ lawyers and representatives to defend their rights before the courts; that in whatever relates to the rights of residents, travel, possession of goods, succession to personal estate, and disposition of property, the subjects of the two countries shall enjoy in the territories of the other the same liberties, privileges, and rights, with entire liberty of conscience, subject only to the laws, ordinances, and regulations; shall enjoy the right of private or public exercise of their worship, and of burying their dead according to their religious customs. These provisions are construed as



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placing the two peoples on an equality under the laws of the two countries. The matter has received the most careful discussion by the President and his Cabinet; and the Japanese feeling is evidently regarded as entitled to the greatest consideration, for Mr. Metcalf, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, has gone to San Francisco to make a thorough inquiry into the alleged anti-Japanese feeling there, and the causes responsible for the exclusion of Japanese children from the public schools. Himself a Californian, Mr. Metcalf is eminently qualified to make a calm, judicial, and thorough investigation of the whole matter. An order has been issued by a judge of the United States Circuit Court in San Francisco, citing the San Francisco Board of Education to show cause why an injunction should not be issued compelling the reinstating of a Japanese pupil excluded from one of the schools, on the ground that the resolution of the Board of Education is a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and of a treaty now existing between the United States and Japan. This will be made a test case.

❀

*Constitutional Questions*

It is reported that the Administration is convinced that, under the provision of the Constitution which gives treaties the authority of the highest law throughout the United States, the National Government has jurisdiction and can assume authority in the premises. Meanwhile it will be carefully explained to the Japanese Government and people that the action of the city of San Francisco is local and not National, and every effort will be made to allay Japanese feeling and to preserve the confidence and friendship which now exist between the two countries, and which, from the moral, political, and commercial point of view, are of incalculable value. It is pointed out that the action of the San Francisco Board of Education is at this time particularly ungracious in view of a contribution of $100,000 by the Japanese for the relief of sufferers in that city after the recent calamity. There is not the slightest doubt that a good understanding between the two countries will be reached, and that the Administration will do everything in its power to carry out the provisions of the treaty between the two countries in the spirit and letter of the law. The Japanese, who are an intelligent people, will understand that the action of a school board is not the action of the United States Government; they ought further to understand that the segregation of children is not necessarily a reflection on their nationality or a discrimination against their race. Such segregations are sometimes made in the interests of the children themselves for educational purposes, and it must not be assumed that the segregation in this case was an expression of race animosity until it has been proved to be the case. It may be noted also that the anomaly which makes it possible for a locality to commit a grievous offense against a foreign nation and for the United States Government to take refuge from responsibility in its constitutional inability to deal with the matter cannot much longer continue. Either the National Government must be clothed with power to act in such cases as the supreme authority in the land, or else it must stand aside and allow localities to take the consequences of their action. Assuming that San Francisco has violated a treaty made by the National Government with a foreign power, the National Government must either be in a position to compel San Francisco to observe the provisions of the treaty, or it must allow the offended power to secure redress on its own account from San Francisco.

❀

*The New Cabinet*

The announcement of changes in the President's Cabinet constitutes the most important political news of the past week. Attorney-General Moody and Secretary of the Treasury Shaw retire early in 1907; Mr. Oscar S. Straus and Mr. George von L. Meyer come into the Cabinet. But these changes are to be accompanied by others. Mr. Cortelyou, formerly Postmaster-General, will become Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Metcalf, formerly Secretary of Commerce and Labor, will become Secretary

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of the Navy; Mr. Bonaparte, formerly Secretary of the Navy, will become Attorney-General; Mr. Meyer will become Postmaster-General, and Mr. Straus Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The reconstructed Cabinet is as follows:

Secretary of State, Elihu Root.
Secretary of the Treasury, George B. Cortelyou.
Secretary of War, William H. Taft.
Attorney-General, Charles J. Bonaparte.
Postmaster-General, George von L. Meyer.
Secretary of the Navy, Victor H. Metcalf.
Secretary of the Interior, Ethan A. Hitchcock.
Secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson.
Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Oscar S. Straus.

Mr. Moody's retirement is a distinct loss to the National Government. He has proved himself in his counsels an independent thinker, in his legal advice an able counselor, and in his conduct of criminal prosecutions against distinguished violators of the law an exceptionally able lawyer. Mr. Bonaparte is not less independent as a thinker, and the effectiveness of his investigation of the Post-Office frauds before he entered the Cabinet gives assurance of his vigor in the prosecution of lawbreakers of every description. Mr. Shaw's retirement will not seem disadvantageous to those who, with us, desire to see the Administration take up tariff reform. Mr. Shaw represents what might be called the satisfied segment of the Republican party; is a high protectionist; holds that the country is prosperous, that complaints are groundless, and that to continue prosperity it is only necessary to continue the Republican party in power. The country has seen no evidence of his sympathy with the reforming work of the Roosevelt Republicans. Mr. Cortelyou, who succeeds him, has proved himself an able organizer and administrator. What he is as a financial leader has yet to be proved. Mr. Straus is said to be the first Hebrew who has ever held a Cabinet position in the United States. As Chairman of the National Civic Federation he has shown his sympathy with the wage-earners and has actively co-operated in the endeavor to secure harmonious and friendly relations between employers and employed. He is well and widely known for his diplomatic services and his interest in the cause of international peace, and may be depended upon, as Secretary of Commerce and Labor, to comprehend the desires and the rights of workingmen, to appreciate both the virtues and the faults of our immigrant population, and to co-operate with the Secretary of State in promoting good relations between the United States and foreign countries, especially in the cases of China and Japan. Mr. Meyer's reputation has been won in diplomatic service, and we do not know what are his administrative abilities nor what his views respecting Civil Service Reform, a question of the first importance as regards the head of the Post-Office Department. The facts that until recently Mr. Bonaparte was a pronounced Independent and Mr. Straus a representative Democrat are significant. Coupled with Mr. Roosevelt's popular sympathies and his vigorous battle last winter against "privilege," they indicate his purpose to welcome allies in that campaign from other than Republican ranks and to push forward the movement to bring great aggregations of capital under the control of the Government and make them subservient to the general welfare. The further development of this policy, the vigorous prosecution of lawbreakers in and out of Government circles, a thorough reconsideration of our immigration laws, a continued promotion of international peace based on democratically friendly relations, and perhaps—at least this is our hope—some practical steps toward tariff reform, appear to us to be indicated by these Cabinet changes.

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*The Campaign Debate in New York*

The interest in Mr. Hearst's personality is perhaps the most distinctive element in the New York campaign. Crowds jostle him wherever he goes. But having once seen him and heard him speak, and assured themselves that he is a living man and not a "myth," as he has been called, the interest of the multitude has frequently waned. Recognizing the nature of this

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popular interest, Mr. Hearst in his speeches has made abundant use of the first personal pronoun. He has told his audiences:

> I fought the Coal Trust and compelled Divine Right Baer and other coal road presidents to produce in court their criminal contracts. . . .
>
> I fought the Ramapo Water Grab.
>
> I fought the Seventh National Bank wreckers, and had the depositors paid in full and the president indicted and fined ten thousand dollars.
>
> I fought the election cases through every court, not only for myself but for all the candidates, and, above all, for the people and for principle.
>
> I fought the New York Central and other railroads for criminal rebating to the Sugar Trust and gave the Government the evidence which was publicly acknowledged by Attorney-General Moody. The officials of the New York Central have lately been convicted on all counts.
>
> I fought the New York Herald for printing a directory of vice on its front page. . . .

In some of these cases, notably that against the coal roads, he deserves credit; but in other cases he simply advocated in his newspapers causes which would have triumphed whether his papers had advocated them or not. Mr. Hearst has continued his methods of vituperation in his papers and on the stump. He has called Mayor McClellan a "wretched little sneak thief," Thomas M. Osborne "this poor, sordid idiot," and Joseph H. Choate a "servile lickspittle of the Trusts." Mr. Hughes's speeches have been vigorous, direct, incisive, and sustained by facts; he has plied Mr. Hearst with questions which Mr. Hearst has not undertaken to answer. Happily, the personal character of the Democratic nominee has not been a subject for discussion; this has required restraint on the part of all the opponents of Mr. Hearst. Altogether the spectacle of New York State handed over to the Murphy-Hearst combination is one from which we hope the voters of the State will deliver themselves.

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*Mr. Hearst and His League*

By a decision of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, the candidacy of Mr. William Randolph Hearst for the Governorship may in some degree be injured; but possibly to a still greater degree be assisted. It enables Mr. Murphy, the Tammany boss, to get most of the local offices without fear of opposition from Mr. Hearst's Independence League; on the other hand, it permits Mr. Hearst to represent himself as a champion of the Independence League who has been injured by a legal technicality. The Independence League, organized as a popular movement under the control as an incorporated body of the Hearst managers, nominated by petition a large number of candidates in opposition to Tammany nominees for Congress and the State Legislature. The appearance of these Independence League candidates has been cited again and again as evidence that Mr. Hearst had made no compact with Tammany. The petitions were prepared by lawyers in Mr. Hearst's organization whose legal adroitness has not been questioned. It soon transpired that Tammany men were also circulating petitions to put Tammany candidates on the ballot under the emblem of the League. When the matter was brought before the Court, it was made plain that many of the petitions were not properly signed. Candidates for different offices were grouped on the same petition. Residents of one district were therefore made to appear as petitioners for candidates in another district, and their petition was invalidated. In some cases the Tammany petitions were properly prepared and therefore stood. The charge made by one of the candidates and spread in large type on the Hearst papers, that several pages of his petition had been stolen by political opponents, was disregarded by the Court as unsubstantiated by evidence. The cases have been appealed. If the decision stands, the result is likely to be favorable to Mr. Hearst. By the removal of Independence League candidates a great number of Tammany voters, who were ready to "knife" Hearst for his apparent approval of opponents to the Tammany candidates, will be placated; at the same time many faithful, enthusiastic, and simple-minded devotees of the Independence League will see in this, not the manipulation of wily and experienced political bosses, but the outrageous tyr-

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anny of a court, and will actually believe that in some way Mr. Hearst has been injured. Some of the displaced candidates, however, are sore over their treatment. Not without reason, they regard the course of Mr. Hearst in relation to the Independence League to be similar to his course in relation to the Municipal Ownership League, which he cast off as soon as it ceased to advance his candidacy. As some of these discarded candidates are wage-earners and members of trades unions, their disaffection may be contagious. In any case, Mr. Murphy has won the only sort of success he desires; he has, in case of Democratic victory, the spoils of the court ticket, and, if the decision in the petition stands, he has also the spoils of most of the legislative ticket. He could very well afford to sell a gubernatorial nomination for such a price.

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*The Judiciary Nominators*

This rather technical and dry title covers a political and human movement in the New York City local campaign which is of importance and ought to be of interest to the whole country. The movement is another attempt to put into practical effect the principle of direct nominations by the people. At present the general calendar of cases in New York County is from two to three years behind, and, to quote the words of a New York lawyer who is actively interested in the independent judiciary ticket, "by the time a case is tried the witnesses either have forgotten what happened or they lie about it. It is no exaggeration to say that the justice of trials in this county is a joke, nor is it surprising that the juries disregard most of the testimony they hear." It is to meet this situation that eight new judgeships have been created by the Legislature, and that a non-partisan committee of thirty-five men fairly representative of the New York Bar have selected eight candidates for these new judgeships. Together with the eight new candidacies there are two nominations to fill vacancies in the Supreme Court, a nomination for Surrogate, and two nominations for the General Sessions, which is one of the local Criminal Courts. On the committee selecting these thirteen candidates were such men as Mr. Joseph Choate, ex-Ambassador to England, Judge Alton B. Parker, Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1904, Secretary Taft, and Secretary Root. With them were associated both Democratic and Republican lawyers of the highest character and standing. During the summer petitions were circulated among the lawyers of New York, and the candidates to be voted for under the emblem of "the Judiciary Nominators" were nominated by petition before any party convention met to select judiciary candidates. Of the thirteen candidates for judgeships thus presented to the people by popular nomination, independent of any convention or party machine, twelve have been indorsed on the regular Republican ticket and two on the Tammany-Hearst ticket. Most of the other nominees for these judgeships on the Tammany-Hearst ticket are political hacks and notoriously unfit for judgeships which require the highest type of impartial, non-political, and incorruptible character. Mr. Jerome's election as District Attorney on a nomination made by petition was a victory for the cause of democratic government—that is to say, a government of the people, for the people, by the people. The candidacy of the thirteen judges nominated by the Judiciary Nominators is not so picturesque and dramatic as was that of Mr. Jerome, but it is quite as vital to good government and to the elimination from politics of the domination of the boss and the corrupt corporation. No political office-holder can do so much harm to our National life and institutions as a prejudiced and subservient judge, to say nothing of a corrupt one. And the plain issue involved in the plucky campaign which the Judiciary Nominators are making is this: Shall our judges serve the people whose rights they are elected to protect, or the bosses who too often succeed in being protected in their misdeeds?

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*Socialism in the New York Campaign*

An interesting phase of the New York campaign is one that has received small attention; it is the canvass of the Socialist party. Standing

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for the extension of the system of public ownership and operation which we now have in the streets, parks, water-works, and schools, to all means by which the necessities of life are produced (as land, mines, buildings, railways, and all machinery), it finds no point of contact with either conservative or radical of the old parties. The leaders of the Socialist party believe that Mr. Hearst is attempting to use the growth of the Socialist sentiment for his own purpose. Mr. Hearst has, however, explicitly declared that he is not a Socialist, and the Independence League has issued a tract arguing against Socialism. Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes, who was an associate of Mr. Hearst on the Municipal Ownership ticket last fall, has joined the Socialist party, and is stumping the State for the Socialist candidate, John C. Chase, the former Socialist Mayor of Haverhill, Massachusetts. Keeping up its propaganda every day of the year, the Socialist party has increased in voting strength in New York State from 12,000 in 1900 to 36,000 in 1904. Mr. Slobodin, the Socialist candidate for Attorney-General, writes to The Outlook: "The Socialist movement cannot be stampeded. Mr. Hearst will shortly find the pace set by Socialism too fast for him. . . . The Socialist party would be glad to have honest Hearst its avowed adherent. It is glad to have ambitious Hearst an open enemy." Mr. Slobodin informs us that during the present campaign over two million pieces of literature on behalf of the Socialist party were sent out from State headquarters alone, besides enormous quantities that are circulated by local committees; that not less than a hundred Socialist agitators have traversed the State, and above three hundred speakers are active in New York City; and that the Socialist meetings, to use his own words, "rival in magnitude any of those held by the old parties, though the Socialist party does not resort to music or fireworks to attract a crowd." The influence of this party, which represents avowedly a class movement, upon Mr. Hearst's campaign, which is based largely on an appeal to class passions, cannot very well be estimated; but it must be considerable.

*San Francisco's Relapse*

During the two months and a half after April 18 San Francisco was probably the most orderly large city in the United States. Violence and crime were practically unknown. During that time the saloons and liquor stores of the city were closed tight. About the middle of July the saloons were permitted to open again. This action of the city government was accompanied by the expectation on the part of many citizens of an outbreak of violence and disorder. Clergymen, and it is said even the police, advised men and women to carry firearms for their own protection. For the past three months San Francisco has been living under a reign of terror. In eighty days eighty-three murders, robberies, and assaults were registered on the police records. A despatch to Ridgway's, the new weekly periodical, reports the sale in San Francisco during one week in October of over six thousand revolvers. The police have been and are powerless to preserve order and protect the city—in the opinion of the best citizens of San Francisco because the heads of the force are corrupt and are doing the will of a corrupt city government. A Citizens' Committee of One Hundred has been organized to work for the overthrow of the machine which absolutely controls the government and for the purging of the police force. A fund of $100,000 is being collected among San Francisco business men, headed by Mr. Rudolph Spreckels, who guarantees the sum, for an investigation of municipal corruption. Mr. Francis J. Heney, who, as an Assistant United States District Attorney, successfully prosecuted the Oregon land fraud cases, has been engaged to make the investigation. He has been appointed by District Attorney Langdon as a deputy in his office. He is assisted by Mr. William J. Burns, who rendered valuable assistance in the land fraud cases, and who resigned from the United States Secret Service to undertake the work in San Francisco. The machine, made anxious by the preparation for the investigation, has attempted a counter move. Acting Mayor Gallagher (Mayor Schmitz is in Europe, where he is visiting Continental cities

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in search of suggestions for the rebuilding of San Francisco along better lines!) removed the District Attorney from office and appointed "Abe" Ruef, the all-powerful boss of San Francisco, to his place. Mr. Langdon, however, declined to consider himself removed, claiming that the provision under which the Mayor acted was clearly unconstitutional. The fight promises to be a bitter one, with the best citizenship of the city on one side, and a corrupt city government, under the domination of an astute but unscrupulous boss, on the other.

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*More Government Supervision of Railways Needed*

A horrible accident occurred on Sunday of this week at a drawbridge near Atlantic City on an electric through line owned by the Pennsylvania Railroad. Three passenger cars jumped the track at the drawbridge, and two of them plunged to the bottom in twenty feet of water. Over fifty imprisoned passengers were drowned. The signal had told the engineer that the bridge was properly closed and locked, and that the track was clear. The company claims that the track was in good condition, but says that until the cars are raised out of the water it will be impossible to determine the cause of the accident. Of course a critical examination of the equipment is promised. But will an examination by an interested party greatly comfort the relatives and friends of the killed and injured, or reassure those who remember that other railway wreck ten years ago on the Atlantic City meadows, when, as on Sunday, over fifty persons were killed; or reassure that wider body of those interested, the whole mass of American citizens? For the question of safety in travel is no merely local concern, and an accident in one place calls forth increasing apprehension as to what may happen in another. This latest disaster will, we hope, elicit expressions of resentment that Americans have not the same opportunity for independent investigation as have Englishmen, that we have no Bureau of Railways in our Department of Commerce, as England has in its Board of Trade. It is true that the Inter-State Commerce Commission makes an annual report to Congress, somewhat similar to the quarterly and yearly reports of the English Bureau to Parliament. But what a world-wide difference there is in the information in those reports! In England each accident as it occurs is investigated by the Government; in America the accidents are investigated by the railways, and the Inter-State Commerce Commission bases its reports on the results of their investigations. Moreover, in England, when the report of a particular accident is published, the reader is enlightened, not only as to the cause of the accident, but also as to its responsibility and as to recommendations for future guidance. If this latest American railway disaster were to be independently investigated, one of the first matters to receive attention would be, not so much whether the particular forms of equipment were adequate, but whether an electrified railway, first opened to the public on September 15, had been thoroughly tested in every part before that date. It is presumable that it had been; for another great company shortly to open an electric line has assigned fifty thousand dollars as the expense of the road's testing, which will occur *after* the contractor has declared it to be ready for business. But these provisions of prevention, as well as the investigations of disaster, the placing of responsibility, and the recommendations for the future, should not be left to the railway companies themselves. The interest of their patrons, the people, demands governmental investigation and regulation.

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*Industrial Democracy at the Antipodes*

The remarkable systems in force in Australia and New Zealand aim by drastic legislation to prevent monopoly in land and industrial tyranny by either capital or labor as against the other. These systems are still in a formative stage; reports differ widely as to their working; only the optimist and theorist believes that they have established a claim to be taken as models by other countries; but they are so amazingly bold in their disregard of the set formulas of old-fashioned political

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economists, and strike so directly at evils that are recognized as social dangers the world over, that they certainly deserve close study. Most people would confidently say offhand that the so-called socialistic laws of New Zealand and Australia were passed at the demand of the labor unions. In fact, as Mr. Charles Edward Russell in an article in the current "Everybody's Magazine" shows, in New Zealand the movement started with the general disgust at an unendurable and ridiculous sympathetic strike. New Zealand longshoremen struck without the slightest grievance because Australian longshoremen had "gone out;" public inconvenience was extreme; public indignation ran high; merchants and professional men worked on the wharfs rather than give in; and when the trouble was settled, every one was in favor of some method of dealing with labor troubles which would abolish strikes. In Australia, it is true, as Miss Alice Henry says in her interesting paper in the present issue of The Outlook (one of the series on Industrial Democracy), that the Labor party, which has forced legislation by throwing the scale as between two other parties, was "born of trades-unionism;" it is also true, as Mr. John Graham Brooks says in an article in the current Atlantic Monthly, that "the assault began in the Australian colonies in 1890, when trades-unionism received a defeat so crushing as to turn its full strength into the political field." What the Labor party has accomplished politically in Australia is told by Miss Henry. Its objective is, first, nationalism; secondly, the collective ownership of monopolies and the extension of the State's industrial and economic function. Practically, it has exercised political opportunism and has been glad to accept individual measures rather than insist on a complete social programme. In New Zealand, if Mr. Russell is to be believed, "antagonism between labor and capital has become chiefly a reminiscence." The arbitration system is compulsory, and means have been found to make the unions as well as the capitalists obey its decisions; the law legalized the union, organized it, and "dragged it up." Practically the court of arbitration fixes, when asked to do so, a minimum wage, and establishes it for two years under heavy penalties for the capitalist who refuses to pay it, while, as we understand it, the workman who refuses to accept the wage loses his license to work at his trade. An arbitrary arbitration, indeed! But it is asserted that it works smoothly and that strikes are now unknown. Other rigid laws establish an eight-hour day, fix the rate of pay for overtime, forbid women and children to work more than a certain number of hours of overtime for any pay, forbid children under fourteen to work at all and demand school certificates from children fourteen to sixteen years old, decree a half-holiday the year around, enforce employers' liability for accident, abolish the company store, insist upon sanitation, light, and air, and in other ways override and contemn the ancient "right of private contract" theory in the most ruthless way—for the common good. In both Australia and New Zealand land monopoly was a recognized danger; forced sales by large owners to the Government, sales on easy terms by the latter to small settlers, and a graduated land tax, have been and are being tried as relief measures. Not Government ownership, but private ownership under strict Government control and limitation, has been the principle followed in New Zealand; and although in Australia the theoretical view of the Labor party has been rather that of Mr. Bryan than that of Mr. Roosevelt, the actual legislation has, so far as it has gone, had the trend of control rather than collective ownership.

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*Opium in China*

The cultivation of the poppy is carried on extensively, not only in India, but in China. Indian opium is commonly held to be the more delicate of the two; its effects are not so immediately apparent. To this, as well as to the lower price, is due the immense use of Chinese rather than Indian opium by the Chinese. The consternation of Indian growers, with their decreasing Chinese market, can therefore be imagined at reading an edict of the Chinese Government, published the other day, which orders the

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formation of a commission of inquiry into the best means of prohibiting the use of opium within the next ten years. Coincidently with this it was announced that Yuan-Shi-Kai, Viceroy of the province of Chili and the most influential statesman in China to-day, himself free from the opium habit, had dismissed an officer from the army because the latter was a confirmed opium user. Not only did the British Government, by the war of 1840, force the use of opium on China, but, according to these critics, it still forces it. While the Indian Government can hardly interfere with poppy cultivation in the peninsula without exasperating the native States, the loss to Indian revenue if the Chinese edict ultimately results in stopping the opium importation from India would not be so great as might be supposed. Possibly Mr. Morley had this in mind when he said, the other day, in the House of Commons, that if China seriously wanted to restrict her consumption of opium, the British Government would not close the door to an agreement. However willing the Chinese Government might be to influence those Englishmen who would bring public opinion to bear upon their Government towards abolishing India's treaty privileges with China concerning opium, it is quite another question whether the Chinese Government would care to diminish its own income from opium-growing. Even some Chinamen who denounce the opium trade have been growers of the poppy on their own estates, as, for example, so it is said, the late Li-Hung-Chang. Opium is a crop easily grown. Any Chinaman, with a little back yard, can thus obtain a proportionately considerable revenue. Hence, despite the high tax, we judge that their home-grown opium will, if Chinese diplomats have their way, ultimately oust the Indian product. Furthermore, we should not be surprised if the net result of any agitation, whether political or moral, would be, not a cessation of the use of opium in China, but an increase of the tax upon the opium fields so as gradually to reduce the demand. Thus the Government would attain a diplomatic, financial, and practical solution of the difficulty.

*The New French Ministry*

The new French Prime Minister, M. Clemenceau, has made a number of changes in his Cabinet which give promise of a continuation of the policy of M. Waldeck-Rousseau in the matter of relations with the Vatican, and of the pacific and sound policy of the Foreign Office in its diplomatic relations with other countries; a diplomacy which has removed many causes of irritation and has greatly advanced the position and influence of France. The most picturesque figure in the new Cabinet, however, will be General Picquart, who becomes Minister of War. Those who remember how this brave officer was abused a few years ago, when he seemed to stand almost alone in France among men of his class, and to have destroyed all his hopes of professional advancement, will recognize in his appearance at the head of the War Office a combination of substantial and poetic justice which would fill out the full demands of the most romantic drama. When the feeling against Dreyfus was such that it was almost impossible to speak his name without creating a riot, and the tide was running as hard and as fast as the most malignant Jew-baiters could wish, General Picquart was delegated to investigate and report upon the case, on the supposition that he would buttress the charges of a conspiracy the like of which has rarely been known outside the realm of fiction. General Picquart happened to be an intelligent, independent, and brave man. To his astonishment, he found that Captain Dreyfus, instead of being a traitor, was the victim of an infamous conspiracy of treachery, forgery, and malice of many kinds, and he said so with the utmost frankness; whereupon he was degraded from his military rank and imprisoned on false charges; and he promptly gave notice that if he were found dead in his cell, as Henry had been found, it would not be a case of suicide. No one struck a heavier blow at the conspiracy than General Picquart; and he will always stand with Zola, Clemenceau, and a few other men as types of civic courage and of the best French spirit. The wheel has come full circle. Zola is in the Pan-

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theon, but he added immensely to his reputation throughout the world by his courage; Clemenceau has become Prime Minister of France; and General Picquart has been placed at the head of the very department which attempted to crush him under its heel. Never was the truth of the old text, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," more strikingly illustrated than in this remarkable case. Dreyfus wears the ribbon of the Legion of Honor; the men who gathered around him have all gained lasting fame from that very act; while, on the other hand, Henry was found dead in his cell, and Paty du Clam, Esterhazy, Mercier, and the rest of the group who attempted to drive Dreyfus to his death are covered with infamy.

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*Kaiser versus Bismarck*

The memoirs of the late Prince Chlodwig von Hohenlohe, the German Chancellor, have just been published by order of the Chancellor's younger son, Prince Alexander. They contain the first authentic account of the resignation of the "Iron Chancellor," Prince von Bismarck, the account being given by William II. himself to the elder Hohenlohe. According to the telegraphed excerpts, the young Emperor had ordered decrees to be drawn up for an international conference for the protection of workmen, despite Bismarck's vehement protests. The Chancellor, however, agitated among the diplomats in Berlin against the conference, and, when he saw that the diplomats were more frequently with the Kaiser than at the Chancellery, produced an old Cabinet order which forbade Ministers to have audience of the Emperor without the Chancellor being present. William II. demanded its repeal. Bismarck at first assented and then ignored the matter, until the Emperor sent General von Hahnke to tell the Chancellor to repeal the order or to resign. After some hesitation, Bismarck resigned. The final interview of Bismarck with the Kaiser was so violent that William II. afterwards said, "He was very near throwing the inkpot at my head." A chief difficulty lay in the Emperor's well-founded distrust of Bismarck's foreign policy, for, according to these very frank memoirs, the Chancellor was unscrupulously working in the direction of abandoning Austria and the Triple Alliance, and effecting a Russian understanding the result of which was evident during the recent Russo-Japanese War. The last weeks of the "Iron" Chancellorship were doubtless, as the Emperor described them, "a beastly time," for, as he added, "it was a question whether the Hohenzollern dynasty or the Bismarck dynasty was going to govern." The final reason for the rupture lay "in the way in which Bismarck treated his Majesty, and the unfavorable opinions regarding the Emperor which he [Bismarck] expressed in conversation with diplomatists, as well as the unfriendly way in which the intercourse between the two was conducted."

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*Diplomatic Traditions Defied*

Although William II. emerges from this scrutinizing side-light with credit, he telegraphed to the late Chancellor's eldest son that he had seen with indignation the publication in the newspapers of letters concerning the Imperial relations with Prince Bismarck and the resignation of that Chancellor; that, as the Imperial permission had not been received, he regarded the publication as showing surprising want of tact, and, as the Kaiser's name had been introduced, unforeseen consequences might follow. Prince Philip replied that he was not responsible for the publication of the memoirs, which were the sole property of his brother Alexander. Prince Alexander has now found it convenient to resign his office and to announce that in future he will reside chiefly on the Riviera. There has been much speculation among students of modern history as to Prince Hohenlohe's motive in writing the memoirs. It seems probable that, having become thoroughly convinced of Germany's ambiguous position before the world, he determined to let the light of day upon Bismarckian intrigues. Furthermore, as a South German, believing that Prussian dominion boded little lasting good to the German State as a whole, he may have determined to warn Ger-

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mans of the risks to which they must be exposed if the Empire were to be carried on in obedience to Bismarckian, that is to Prussian, principles. Granting this, it is surprising that the memoirs should have been published while many of the persons described in them are still alive. It is one of the unwritten laws of diplomacy that an intimate, personal history of a particular period may not be published until thirty years—a generation—shall have gone by. That is why the manuscript of the third volume of Bismarck's own "Gedanken und Erinnerungen" remains locked up in a bank vault. With its publication a yet more authoritative light should be thrown upon recent German and especially Prussian policy, of which for full forty years Bismarck was the directing spirit.

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*Wanted—A Library for Japan*

During the past year the Rev. Sidney L. Gulick, the author of "The Evolution of the Japanese," has been spending a year of study in America and Europe. While here he has given himself to public speaking and authorship, and in each department has won a high place as a man of profound wisdom in dealing with the social and religious problems of Japan. He returns to Japan at an early date to take charge of the chair of Philosophy and Theology in the Doshisha—the largest Christian educational institution in Japan. Its library is small and out of date. Gathered many years since, it is lacking in recent books, especially in theology. The condition can be imagined if any one of our theological seminaries had added no books within the last ten years. Mr. Gulick, during the year spent in the universities of Great Britain, Germany, and America, has learned the changes going on in the churches, as brought about by these universities and their recent publications. He sees that an immediate change must be made in Japan, or infidelity, already active, will overcome the churches whose pastors are wholly unprovided with modern books, a prospect grotesque if it were not tragical—a hundred Christian students and pastors able to read English, but with no English books to read except such as the enemies of Christianity are ready to thrust into the hands of the people. Mr. Gulick, realizing the inability of the American Board to meet this urgent need of modern books, consulted with the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Secretary of Yale, who was then in close contact with him, as to any possible way out of this grave condition. The result was a letter written by Mr. Gulick stating that five hundred dollars was needed at once. A quick reply was returned, inclosing the amount from a few persons who had a keen sense of the injustice and folly of requiring bricks without straw. Mr. Gulick in this appeal also suggested a larger need—namely, an endowment for yielding the Doshisha annually such a sum that the library can circulate the books which the pastors of the churches need to put them on the same ground with clergymen at home. Seven clergymen, whose standing and fitness justify the position they have assumed, have undertaken to see if a work so laden with good sense and spiritual purpose will not, as it were, fulfill itself. They will, however, act through the American Board, and a secretary and treasurer of their own. Among these seven are Dr. Munger, of New Haven, and Dr. Gordon, of Boston. The Treasurer is Mr. Edward H. Chandler, 3 Joy Street, Boston, who will account for all sums received, and forward the same to Mr. Gulick.

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*The Significance of This Appeal*

This appeal hardly calls for any indorsement by The Outlook. But a paragraph of interpretation may be justified. Christianity is not all comprised in the Four Gospels; it includes also the history of the Church comprised in the Book of Acts, and of ethical and theological thought in the apostolical epistles. But neither the history of the Church nor the growth of Christian thought stopped with the close of the apostolic epoch. Christianity is the seed, and all that has grown out of the seed. Ethically it includes the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of industry, the substitution of representative government for autocracy, the sacredness of the marriage

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tie and the permanence of the marriage relation, the elevation and emancipation of woman, the organization of public systems of education, the distribution of wealth and the diffusion of comfort, the transformation of criminal jurisprudence from a system of revenge to a system of redemption. Theologically it includes faith in God as a Being of infinite love, who not only requires righteousness of his children, but also helps them to attain righteousness, a consequent hope both for the individual and for society which is an inspiration to progress, and a respect for all men founded on the faith that all men are children of one Father who is in heaven—in other words, there has been developed out of the New Testament a new theology, a new sociology, and a new anthropology. The West does not wish to impose upon the East its solution of these and kindred ethical and philosophical problems. But we certainly do want to let the East know how these problems have appeared to us, what solutions we have discovered, what successes we have achieved, what failures suffered, and what processes and experiments employed. This is what the library will give to them. They ought to get from us not merely the New Testament, not chiefly evangelistic appeals based upon the New Testament, but also the history which Christian thought and life have been writing in Christendom for the nineteen centuries since Christ preached the Sermon on the Mount and Paul gave his message on Mars Hill. And such a library ought to contain the great works of the great thinkers, and the modern books of modern thinkers whose greatness can be tested only by time. Mr. Gulick truly says: "The 'great debate' and the final campaigns between Christian theism and Buddhist pantheism will not take place in Christian lands, but in Japan and China. As important, probably, as the missionaries sent to Japan are the books from Christian lands. And the influence of books is to be an increasing factor as time goes on. Atheistic, agnostic, and strictly scientific books find easy access to Japan. It is for us to see that Christian books take their rightful place in molding the life of new Japan."

# The Present Crisis

The question before the American people to-day is one that concerns the foundations of democracy. Shall the government control the corporations, and the people control the government? The "trust issue" and the "boss issue" are not two issues but one issue. In the struggle to settle it the opposing forces are not clearly drawn up. Many good citizens intent on advancing some subsidiary political doctrine are helping to fight the battles of the lawless corporations and the unscrupulous bosses. In general, however, the people are on one side, and organized privilege, supported by party bosses, is on the other.

In such a crisis the greatest enemy to the Republic is the man who confuses the issue: the man who parleys with the enemy, drives into the enemy's camp natural recruits for the army of the people, brings obloquy and disgrace upon the popular cause, and infects the forces of the people with the spirit of mutual suspicion, with disorderliness, and with mutiny.

Because he is such a man The Outlook is opposed to William Randolph Hearst and all his works.

Mr. Hearst has parleyed with the enemy. The enemy of the people is not the rich man as such. Mr. Hearst himself admits that. The enemy is irresponsible privilege. This enemy depends chiefly on two great powers: the lawless corporation and the political boss. Neither could exist without the other. With both these powers Mr. Hearst has clasped hands. His own newspaper properties he has so incorporated that he escapes the payment of the tax which he, like the owner of any other productive industry, ought to pay; in other words, he is of choice profiting by irresponsible privilege. He has made arrangements with bosses, not once but many times, for his own political advantage; specifically, in this campaign he has not only secured the Democratic nomination for Governor of New York by an arrangement with one of the worst of all the bosses who have cursed the State, but has actually done his best to deliver the judiciary of the State into

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the hands of that boss; in other words, he is utilizing for his own advancement the methods and practices of boss rule.

Mr. Hearst is doing his best to drive into the enemy's camp men who would naturally enlist on the side of the people; and those whom he cannot drive out he is trying to discredit as if they were traitors. Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, as Mr. Jacob Riis has pointed out, promoted reforms in the tenement-house laws which saved "annually more than twelve thousand baby lives in the crowded tenements" against the greed of tenement-house owners; and yet, because Mr. Gilder has opposed Mr. Hearst, Mr. Hearst in his paper insults him by calling him a "pathetic imitation of a young girl," and likens him to "a quivering little sensitive mouse." Happily, the insults of a man like Mr. Hearst cannot move a man like Mr. Gilder; but they doubtless alienate weaker men who might otherwise help to swell the people's forces. Mr. Edward B. Whitney acted as counsel against a street railway company in restraining certain lawless acts, and served, as an associate has testified, without receiving a cent of pay; later he accepted a fee from Mr. Hearst in a suit against a gas company. Now, because Mr. Whitney is nominated on a judiciary ticket which Mr. Hearst opposes, Mr. Hearst in public speech declares, "Mr. Whitney appeared in our case, which we brought for the people, and I paid him $1,500 for so doing. If he exhibited public spirit, he exhibited just $1,500 worth." Such examples might be multiplied.

Mr. Hearst has brought obloquy upon the cause of popular government. He, and his newspapers for him, have insistently claimed the chief credit for the fight against corporate abuses until he has been identified in the minds of many people with the people's cause. At the same time, chiefly through his newspapers, he has become identified in the public mind with sensationalism, mendacity, and violence. He has played with reputations; and has slung at men foul epithets without stint, as when last week in the Journal he calls Mr. Joseph H. Choate "servile lick-spittle of the Trusts;" he has not even stopped at befouling a woman, as in the case of Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer. His newspaper practices have brought an evil name upon the cause he is supposed to espouse.

Mr. Hearst has infected the forces of the people with the spirit of mutual suspicion, with disorderliness, and with mutiny. If the people are to keep the government out of the hands of the managers of special interests and out of the hands of the bosses, they must be united. Yet Mr. Hearst, more than any one else, has fostered and organized class hatred. This is the substance of Mr. Lewis S. Chanler's tribute to Mr. Hearst. It is undoubtedly true. To teach people to hate certain individuals and certain classes of their fellow-men has been the chief function of the Hearst papers and of the Hearst speeches. Men who unite on a basis of a common hatred end by hating one another. Mr. Hearst's influence is promoting the disorganization of the people's forces.

Moreover, the real leader of a self-governing people is not one who gives the people things and advertises his beneficence, after the manner of Mr. Hearst in his efforts to win popular support; that is destructive not only of democratic methods, it is destructive of even the democratic spirit. In the struggle for the preservation of the Union there was no one who attempted to bribe the people into accepting his leadership. As Mr. Thomas M. Osborne says, Mr. Hearst "is a modern instance of those degenerate Roman millionaires who bought their offices from the people with bread and circuses, a new and sinister figure in our political history."

As the greatest enemy to the church is not the avowed unbeliever but the hypocrite within the church; as the greatest enemy to organized labor is not the open opponent of the trade union, but the thug within the trade union; as the greatest enemy to organized wealth is not the violent anarchist but the greedy corporation magnate; so the greatest enemy to democracy is the man who, while wearing the uniform of democracy, subverts in all his actions the principles upon which self-government rests. It is futile to try to advance any principle by

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means of an unprincipled man. It is because we believe in democracy, therefore, that we regard Mr. Hearst with the same dread and hostility as that with which Cicero regarded Catiline.

In this crisis the people need wise leaders. That the government may control the corporations, and that the people may control the government, the Nation must hold to those leaders who, like Lincoln, patiently and without malice are ready to go ahead with every step as the people are ready to follow. Such a leader in the Nation is Mr. Roosevelt; such a leader in the State of New York is Mr. Hughes.

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# The Ohio Standard Oil Case

Some fuller information respecting the recent decision in Ohio, briefly reported by us last week, enables us to give our readers an account of the methods pursued by the Standard Oil Company to maintain a practical monopoly in oil, in violation of the spirit not merely of special statutes but of Anglo-Saxon law since the days of Queen Elizabeth. To give the method in detail would only confuse the reader; apparently it is to the complication of the method that the company trusts for avoiding the legal prohibitions. In 1882 the stockholders in thirty-nine oil companies, among them the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, surrendered their stock to nine trustees to hold in trust and divide among them the earnings and profits of the thirty-nine companies. This of course put an end to all competition between the companies, made them to all interests and purposes one company, and to it gave a monopoly in the territory before occupied by the thirty-nine companies. This combination was declared by the Supreme Court of Ohio illegal in 1892, and the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, against which legal proceedings had been brought, was required to withdraw from the trust. The effect of this decision was, of course, to dissolve the trust; whereupon a new combination was made. The trustees of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey were increased from three to nine; that company purchased a majority of the stock of the thirty-nine supposedly competing companies, and issued its own stock therefor. Thus simultaneously the old combination was abandoned and a new combination having the same effect was substituted. The way in which this new combination worked is thus illustrated in a statement received from an Ohio correspondent:

> The Manhattan [a subsidiary oil company alleged to be controlled by the Standard] will go into a field where the National Oil Company, an honest, independent competitor of the Standard, is buying oil, and, paralleling the lines of the National, will pay five cents a barrel more for oil than the National pays. Then it takes this oil and runs it through the pipes of the Buckeye Pipe Line Company, which pretends to be an independent transportation company for the transportation of oil, into the refinery of the Standard Oil Company, and sells it to that company for five cents a barrel less than it pays for it. It does not attempt to buy any oil in the fields where there is no competitor to the Standard. It is a concealed weapon to destroy competition; it is a decoy held out, pretending to be independent for the purpose of putting down competition in any particular territory without affecting in any way the price the Standard pays for oil. The Standard says to its customers, "We have nothing to do with that; our price is ninety-five cents a barrel. If these people want to pay a dollar, that is none of our business," although "these people" are buying oil for the Standard, and selling to the Standard for less than they pay for it. They pretend to be an independent corporation, when, if they were really independent, they would be losing five cents on every barrel of oil they buy.

The majority of the stock of this Manhattan Company is owned by a corporation organized in England, entitled The Industrial Development Syndicate of England; supposedly, an English corporation is not under the jurisdiction of American courts. What will be the effect of this device on legal proceedings remains to be seen.

What is popularly known as the Standard Oil Company—the great parent corporation or "trust" that controls with almost absolute power the production, manufacturing, and selling of petroleum in the United States—is a New Jersey corporation. Over it the State of Ohio has no authority. But it has authority over "The Standard Oil Company of Ohio,"

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one of the thirty-nine above-described subsidiary companies of the trust. It is this Ohio branch of the trust that has been convicted of entering into a combination which violates the Valentine anti-trust law of Ohio. This law forbids any combination of persons or corporations formed to restrict trade, reduce production, increase prices, prevent competition, or otherwise establish a monopoly.

In so far as the object of the law in Ohio and the proceedings under it is to prevent combination and re-establish competition, The Outlook believes that it must eventually fail. The forces that make for combination are too strong to be resisted; the advantages which result from combination are too great and too obvious to be sacrificed. It is a great deal better for the traveling public to travel from New York to Washington on one railroad under the control of one corporation than, as they did formerly, on four or five connecting roads. It is a great deal better for the general public to have oil sold by a few great corporations, who can afford to keep the oil approximately up to a specified standard, than by a great number of small traders, who are put by competition under strong temptation to lower the quality in order to lower the price. Since the slaughter of cattle has been carried on upon a large scale in a comparatively few great packing-houses, the meat served in country taverns has averaged much better than in the old days when there were butchering establishments in every village. What the community needs is not to have combination destroyed and competition re-established, but to have combinations open, not secret, conducted under the law, not in evasion of the law, and for the benefit of the public, not for the exploitation of the public.

There is no more important question before the American people to-day than this: Can wealthy and influential lawbreakers be compelled to obey the law, or are they superior to the law? Is the State sovereign, or are there corporate sovereignties within the State which are superior to the State? Not merely the people at the polls, not merely legislators in their legislative halls, but judges on the bench, have no more important question before them. The value of the decisions of the courts in the New York Central Railroad and the Standard Oil cases lies not merely nor mainly in the fact that the one promises to make rebates and the other monopolistic combinations more difficult. It lies in the indication which they afford that powerful violators of the law can be called to account in America. What causes popular discontent is not that wages are too low nor that salaries are too high, but that there is growing up in America a privileged class which appears to the common people to be above the law. Our public officials, whether they be legislative, executive, or judicial, have no more important duty to perform than so to enact law, enforce law, and interpret law as to prove to the common people that law is no respecter of persons. Both the convicted corporations have appealed. This is their right; and The Outlook has no wish to prejudge the case of either when it says that the final decision should be based upon the substantial merits of the case, and that no technicality should be allowed to furnish a way of escape if the spirit of the law has been set at naught.

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## *Racial Self-Restraint*

Three correspondents, writing on the problem involved in the race riots in Atlanta, present in another part of this issue three different points of view. Mr. McKelway is a Southerner of high character, who has rendered distinguished service for human welfare. He is one of the two Assistant Secretaries of the National Child Labor Committee. Mrs. Clifford, as her letter indicates, is the Honorary President of a State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs. Mr. Ware writes from that college for negroes in the South which has profited by the administration of its President, Dr. Horace Bumstead, and by the presence on its faculty of the eminent negro scholar Professor William Burghardt Du Bois. These three contributions to the discussion of the relation between the races in the South are valuable, not only as

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expressions of individual opinion, but also as indications of the different phases of public feeling which will have to be reckoned with in any proposed solution of the difficulty.

In all human relationships justice can be secured only by the application of the principle which was the basis of the ancient Hebrew commonwealth, which was reiterated in the second great commandment of the Gospels, and which bears the name of the Golden Rule. It is this which is the secret of justice in the family, justice between neighbors, and justice between nations. Mrs. Clifford is entirely right in saying that this principle should be applied to the relation between whites and blacks.

If this principle, however, is to be applied effectively, it must be accepted by both sides involved in the difficulty. It is the duty of the white to love his black neighbor as himself; it is equally the duty of the black to love his white neighbor as himself. The man who accepts this principle as the guide to justice will, whenever there is difficulty between himself and his neighbor, ask first, not, "What does my neighbor owe to me?" but, "What do I owe to my neighbor?" In this particular case, when there is friction between the two races, the adoption of this principle by both races will lead the white man to ask, "What defect in the attitude of the whites needs to be corrected?" and will in precisely the same way lead the negro to ask, "What fault of the black race needs to be cured?" Mrs. Clifford is mistaken in saying that this remedy will not be tried. It is being tried by the white race. Dean W. T. Capers spoke for the best, and we believe the ruling, element of Southern white people when, after the Atlanta riots, he preached in the Cathedral at Lexington, Kentucky, a sermon from the text, "We, then, that are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." In that sermon he said to his own race, "The very essence of this question lies in our example;" and he pointed out as the elements of danger, not the transgressions of the negroes, but the sins of the whites. This remedy is being tried by the negro race. It is the motive which controls the brave undertakings of Dr. Booker Washington; it is the burden of his addresses to his people, and the substance of all his achievements.

If, moreover, this principle is to be anything more than an abstraction, it must be applied by practical measures. It is not enough to preach neighborliness; it is necessary, so long as we have laws, to put the spirit of neighborliness into the enactment and administration of the laws. In suggesting that the people of the Southern States adopt Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's plan for a negro constabulary or police to deal with negro criminals The Outlook had no intention of delivering a lecture to anybody, least of all "a lecture to blacks on self-restraint." The mediator is, we know, in danger of getting hit by both combatants, and The Outlook accepts cheerfully any hard knocks it receives in the course of offering mediation. The fact is that conditions in the South at present do not permit the negroes to exercise racial self-restraint. The gap between the intelligent educated negroes and the criminal negroes which makes impossible the control of the lawless element by merely the public opinion of the law-abiding is not a fault to be charged against anybody; it is the natural effect of racial development. We are glad to have Mr. Ware tell of all that the best negroes are doing on behalf of the less fortunate of their own race; but all that they may do is much less than is needed. The Rev. John E. White, D.D., a genuine Southerner, pastor of one of the largest churches in Atlanta, has told, in the Biblical Recorder of North Carolina, the story, as an eye-witness, of the "Atlanta massacre." He describes it, even more strongly than Mr. McKelway, as a reign of hoodlums and ruffians. Criminal outbreaks on the part of negroes rousing criminal outbreaks on the part of whites means the degradation of both white and colored races, which no amount of merely philanthropic activity on the part of the better element of both races can prevent. The white people of Atlanta have undertaken earnestly the suppression of the dives and other sources of disorder, and through the action of the Grand Jury have brought indictments

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against white offenders. Should not the colored people of Atlanta, and, indeed, of all communities where negroes exist in any considerable numbers, be allowed to have officers of their own race to deal with criminals of the race? If the whites do not exercise racial self-restraint, it is because they do not use the means they have; if the negroes do not exercise self-restraint, it is, partly at least, because they do not have the means by which to do so. We believe that justice requires that in some way they be given the means. With that opinion we are glad to believe that many Southern white people agree.

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## The Modern Adventurer

One of the keynotes of the life and character of Charles Godfrey Leland, so sympathetically interpreted by his niece, Elizabeth Robins Pennell,[1] is struck in these words in a letter from London, written to Mr. Pennell in 1891: "I was referred to in the Congress as being 'beyond question at the very head of Pidgin English learning and literature.' There is a proud position for a man! Yes, I am the Shakespeare and Milton and Grimm and Heine and everybody else of that language. When Pidgin English shall become—as Sir Richard Burton predicted it would—the common language of the world, then I shall be a great man." In this sentence the sympathetic reader finds the spirit of both Leland and Burton, and, if he chooses to go farther afield, he finds also that of Borrow and Palmer; for here is the incarnation of the genius for the unusual, the unconventional, the odd, the obscure, the occult; for everything, in a word, that lies outside the barriers of conventional life. The reaction against the drill and monotony of the age, its deference to conventions and its tendency to run everybody in the same mold, is shown most picturesquely, though not most significantly, in the lives of these modern adventurers, with their love for the society of "voodoos, fortune-tellers, tinkers, tramps, travelers, fakirs, card-slingers, pitch and tossers, in short, all who form the outside class of creation." Mr. Leland organized various societies, some of them of permanent value, like the Industrial Art School which introduced the study of the minor arts into the public schools of Philadelphia, and some, like the Rabelais Club, for social and convivial uses; but he was essentially, like all men of his kind, an individualist; one of that small group of men who cannot be turned or twisted into any kind of conformity to Church or State; who give modern life a touch of the heroic and audacious, of the spirit of adventure commonly associated with the sixteenth century; and who keep high-class respectability in living touch with all sorts of interesting vagabondage. Leland's acquaintances ran to the very outer edge of society and quite beyond it. He could loaf as truly as Walt Whitman, whom he knew well, with tinkers, Gypsies, red Indians, and all the wanderers who enjoy on the highways a life of which more orderly and conventional people know almost nothing.

It is interesting, and it may be significant, that, in these piping times of commercial activity, when the inventive genius of the world and a large part of its imagination are dealing with material things and situations, there should come from the press a new edition of George Borrow's "Wild Wales," the charm of which lies in its detachment from everything that the ordinary tourist sees in that country of ravines, brooks, cascades, and great hills, and which becomes in the hands of an imaginative reader an Odyssey of wanderings among the real Welsh who speak no English and who detest all Englishmen; an extensive Life of Sir Richard Burton, reviewed at length in these columns two months ago—a commonplace piece of biography so far as literary craftsmanship is concerned, but packed full of interesting and unusual things, and dealing with one of the most extraordinary men of his time; and now Mrs. Pennell's delightful biography of her uncle. If to these could be added a life of Edward Henry Palmer, written by a

[1] *Charles Godfrey Leland.* A Biography. By Elizabeth Robins Pennell. In 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.



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sympathetic and skillful hand, the whole English-reading world would be under obligations; for the biographical study which now exists from the hand of Walter Besant, while thoroughly well intentioned, is awkward and uninteresting in arrangement—a waste of splendid biographic material. And if to these four lives could be added a uniform edition of the best works of these four men, what a library of adventure would be at hand; what picturesque incidents, what unusual happenings, what a circle of strange faces about the reader, what openings of doors from shops, stores, and offices into the unorganized world of the Gypsy, the American Indian, the traveling tinker, the great fellowship of vagabonds who are picturesque without being criminal!

Leland had a passion for adventure; and, according to the law of nature by which that which we attract comes to us, unusual happenings always lay in his path. He could not go from Philadelphia to New York without being thrown in contact with some unusual person, touching casually and for the moment, it may be, but with extraordinary vividness, some door which opened into a different kind of life. In this brotherhood of modern adventurers, as in all men of their type, there was an immense element of vitality. They were all, like most great men, more or less grown-up boys, with a boy's love of fun, of getting, for the time being, beyond the voice of authority, of playing outside the gates. To such men the world is always a fascinating show; and shows of all kinds possess an irresistible attraction for men of imagination. As the boy loves the circus because it is so different from the school, because everybody seems to be doing what he wants to do, because the men are so strong, the women so beautiful, the tricks so marvelous, the whole atmosphere so removed from that of the village or the small town, so does the grown-up boy rejoice in the Gypsy, the tinker, the fortune-teller, the occultist of all shades and degrees.

Leland made a great collection of magical stones, amulets, incantations, superstitious objects of all sorts and kinds; and during the last few years of his life in Florence he amused himself by unearthing witches, studying their characters, and becoming familiar with sorcery. He put as much vitality into these avocations as most men put into their vocations. One of the most prodigious workers of his period, his spirit was continually freshened, his imagination quickened, his interest in life kept perennially fresh, by his dealings with the world of the road.

Like all the brotherhood of adventurers, Leland was intensely serious at heart, and prodigiously industrious. He did the work of five or six men. He was tirelessly moving about from country to country. One wonders when he ever found time for serious writing; but the bibliography of his published works fills four pages, and deals with all sorts of themes—translations of Heine, the German Mother Goose, Hans Breitmann Ballads, the English Gypsies, the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests, the Algonkin Legends, a Dictionary of Slang. When he became acquainted with Maddalena, "a young woman who would have been taken for a Gypsy in England, but in whose face in Italy I soon learned to know Antique Etruscan, with its strange mysteries, to which was added the indefinable glance of the witch. . . . She was from the Romagna Toscana, born in the heart of its unsurpassingly wild and romantic scenery, amid cliffs, headlong torrents, forests, and old legendary castles," he did not content himself with making a rich addition to his knowledge of the history, traditions, ritual, and secrets of witchcraft, nor was he satisfied with recipes of enchanted medicine, philters, or the weaving of spells; he saw also the relation of all this knowledge and of the witch's vocabulary to Etruscan, and made of this extraordinary acquaintance an open door to a deeper knowledge of language and mythology. A student at Princeton, of which he irreverently says that it was "a mathematical school run on Old School Presbyterian principles," Leland was fortunate enough to go almost immediately after graduation to that most romantic of German schools of learning, the University of Heidelberg, where he found the kind of life after his mind, began his career as a linguist, and

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became familiar with the Germans, whom he loved, but to whose faults he was not oblivious. Leaving Heidelberg and Munich behind him in 1848, he arrived in Paris, with his usual good luck, at the beginning of the Revolution, threw himself into the agitation of the student quarter with *abandon*, caring for nothing but the music of student songs and the shouts of mobs in up-torn streets. Nothing could be more vivid than his description of his experiences as a revolutionist, nothing more unlike the staid and quiet life of Philadelphia, in the heart of which his family received these charming letters.

He was an indefatigable journalist, working at the start under, or rather with, Barnum, of whom he said, sagaciously, that he reduced everything to the equation of a joke. It was due to him that the study of the minor arts was introduced into the public schools of Philadelphia, and that later a similar society was founded under his inspiration in London, which has resulted in that promising and interesting revival of old handicrafts, the Cottage Art Movement. He was an indefatigable writer and contributor to magazines; he traveled far and wide; he learned at first hand the Gypsy dialect, and became a great authority on that mysterious people. Indeed, his Romany was so deep that he probably had no superior in this kind of knowledge, and could meet Borrow, whom he far surpassed in accuracy, and Palmer on a basis of equality. He discovered and made a vocabulary of the language of the tinkers, which he called The Shelta. He was initiated into the tribe of the Kaw Indians, and was expert in his knowledge of Indian habits, customs, and traditions. Into this work and into all his many interests he carried an immense sympathy, kindness of heart, passion for humanity, and insatiable curiosity.

Over six feet in height, strikingly attractive in person, possessed of heroic strength, he was the embodiment of manliness. Unconventional to the last degree in his interests and companionships, he was most simple in his tastes, most loyal in his friendships. His life in the outside world, where the breath of the fields and the movement of the highways were always with him, made him very intolerant of a great deal of the morbid sentimentality, of the unnatural vices, and the diseased interest in corruption which play so great a part in contemporary literature. "The more modern literature develops itself—the more the New Humor, or cheap and feeble Irony (dear to the weak-minded, would-be witty Philistines), comes forth, the more Ibsenry, Langtry, Marie Bashkirtseffery, and Oscar Wildery is exhibited—the better do I realize that the more we refine and cultivate humanity the more does it degrade into sentiment and rot. . . . However, as the Niebelungen and the Sagas and the Greek drama and Shakespeare and the Kalevala and witch incantations and the Algonkin Legends are dearer to my heart than aught beside in literature, and as I feel strongly within me the Revolutionary soldier's blood as well as that of my great-grandfather, who was so dear to the Indians in Canada that they kept him prisoner a whole winter; . . . in fine, with such blood and tastes, it is sadly evident that I shall not fall in with the New Sentiment or—New Humor."

To have known any of this group of adventurers was a piece of great good fortune; though it is quite clear that Leland and Palmer presented fewer obstacles to and made fewer demands on their friends than Burton and Borrow. Palmer, master of every sort of occult knowledge and of all kinds of tricks, to say nothing of twenty languages, was a companion of resources as wonderful almost as that magical hero whose adventures Hawthorne related to his children in a serial that lasted during their whole youth; and Leland, kindly, friendly, breezy, overflowing with good fellowship, knowledge of the world, was a delayed Berserker in strength and health among sickly invalids like d'Annunzio and Paul Verlaine. He was a real man, looking at life, not from the hospital or the madhouse, but from the open fields and the highway; not always to be followed by any manner of means, but charged with that vitality which is sorely needed in these days when every form of disease is exploited in current writing.

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# The Religion of the Future

A correspondent, apropos of a recent public discussion on this question, asks us to give to our readers an answer to the question, What will be the religion of the future? The answer is easy and simple. The religion of the future will not vitally differ from the religion of the past. Religion is in its essential elements eternally the same. What doth the Lord require of thee, asks Micah, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God? This is religion: justice, mercy, humility, fellowship with God. It is religion in the sixteenth century and in the twentieth century, in the Roman Catholic church, in the Jewish synagogue, in the Episcopal cathedral, and in the Quaker conventicle. "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." Religion is temperance, justice, piety, hopefulness: temperance, or self-mastery; justice, or the application of the Golden Rule in our dealings with our fellow-men; piety, or consecration to God's service; hopefulness, or aspiration after diviner things for ourselves and for our fellow-men. This is always religion, in all climes, in all nations, in all races, in all social conditions. Justice requires different actions of different men under different conditions; so does mercy, so does reverence, so does hope; but justice, mercy. reverence, hope, are eternally the same—and they are religion.

Theology is not religion. Theology is what men think about religion, and that changes. Ritual is not religion. Ritual is the way in which men give emotional expression to their devotional life, and that changes. Ecclesiasticism is not religion. Ecclesiasticism is the form of organization which men adopt for the purpose of promoting religion in themselves or in others, and that changes. But religion does not change, except as the life of faith and hope and love is developed by the developing of manhood. The relation of the creed to religion is the relation of botany to flowers, astronomy to stars, grammar to language. The flowers precede the botany, the stars precede the astronomy, language precedes grammar. So religion precedes theology. Theology affects religion, because the life of men is affected by what they think about it. Liturgy affects religion, because life is influenced by the methods which men take to express it. Ecclesiasticism affects religion, because life is affected by the organizations which men frame to promote it. But religion, the life of God in the soul of man, the life of faith and hope and love, the life that seeks justice and mercy and humility and reverence, the life that strives after self-mastery and beneficent action and reverent loyalty and hopeful progress, is always essentially the same.

The twentieth century calls for a new theology more in harmony with the new scientific thought. It calls for variations in liturgy, adapting it to the emotional needs of men of different temperaments. It calls for changes in the religious institutions so as to adapt them to the needs of a new day. But we cannot in a single article point out what are the changes in theology, the variations in liturgy, or the modifications in the institutions of religion which the twentieth century calls for. We are trying to do this all the time in all the successive issues of The Outlook. But these accidents, these externals, these incidents, these expressions of religion—these are only the transient. Religion itself is the life of God in the soul of man; that is eternal, immutable; if not absolutely unchangeable, it changes only as, in the spiritual development of the race or of the individual, the spirit of justice and mercy and humility, the spirit of self-control, of fair dealing, of piety, and of aspiration, is developed.

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# THE ATLANTA RIOTS[1]

## I.—A SOUTHERN WHITE POINT OF VIEW

I HAVE not been a citizen of Atlanta long enough to feel any passion of partisanship in defending the good name of the city. I was out of town during the period of the rioting, from Friday night until Wednesday morning, and so neither shared the universal feeling of the white people on Saturday that something had to be done nor had my sensibilities shocked by the actual spectacle of the murder of innocent and inoffensive negroes by the mob. The Outlook was good enough to credit my story of the "Wilmington Revolution," eight years ago, and to take a position on that subject that has added greatly to the influence of the magazine in the South. I crave a word which will be of the nature of a reply to the editorial comment of September 29 entitled "An American Kishinev."

The only parallel that can be drawn between Kishinev and Atlanta is that there was race antagonism in both instances. There was no religious fanaticism, as at Kishinev. There was no sympathy with the mob by civil or military authorities, as The Outlook admits. The Jews are a law-abiding and inoffensive people. The negroes are our criminal class. There had been no outrages inflicted by Jewish criminals upon the Russian women or men as the incentive to the Kishinev massacre. But the fact that there was such race antagonism as resulted in an indiscriminate slaughter of negroes by whites because they were negroes is something to be emphasized rather than denied, and its cause or causes patiently and calmly inquired into.

The Outlook says that Atlanta is not a typical Southern city. I have found it intensely Southern, and with a most hospitable attitude toward settlers from other sections. Ninety-five per cent. of the people are of Southern birth. It has quite a large population of skilled laborers from the North and West, but it should be said that organized labor here is distinctly friendly to the negro laborers, while there may be some of the prejudice, which is still rather foreign to the South, against the negro who has a job that the white man might fill, and this feeling may have found expression in the murder of a telegraph messenger and the two barbers. I am disposed also to question the statement that the race feeling is acuter in Atlanta than in almost any other Southern city. I have thought rather the contrary to be true until the events of the last few weeks occurred.

But the fact remains that for the first time in the history of Southern crime there was an indiscriminate lynching of negroes by a mob. The mob has heretofore been after the negro criminal and anxious to avoid a mistake for the very desire that the criminal should be punished. We have read of such assaults upon negroes in the two Springfields, and there have been anti-negro riots in New York. But Southern cities have been free from this particular form of mob violence, the race wars being in all other cases clashes between armed bodies of whites and negroes.

Nor do I consider plausible The Outlook's theory that the political issue of negro disfranchisement has had much to do with the trouble. If it did, its settlement in favor of the negro would have been the more dangerous thing for peace between the races. If it did, it was because of the division of the white people on that question and the apparent "backing" given to the political claims of the negroes. The quality that makes the negro regiment with white officers efficient in war will make the negro dare much with the possession or the fancy of white sympathy and encouragement. But if The Outlook's theory is correct, we hark back to race antagonism excited in the breasts of the negroes, for there

[1] See editorial comment elsewhere.—THE EDITORS.



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was nothing in the campaign or its results to kindle resentment or antipathy in the hearts of the white people.

If there had been no assaults upon white women in and near Atlanta, there would have been no mobs and no riots. That is a truism. A brief history of these assaults within the year, with their cumulative frequency within the last few weeks, will help to determine the cause of this unique experience in a Southern city—the wholesale murder of innocent negroes by the mob.

On October 26, 1905, Mrs. M.,[1] a respectable white woman, fifty-five years of age, was most brutally assaulted by a negro, a railroad hand, who escaped immediately after the crime, was captured in a distant city on November 9, after the arrest of several negroes on suspicion, whom Mrs. M. pronounced not the guilty one, was brought back to Atlanta, fully identified, was protected from the threat of mob violence, confessed his guilt to so many people that his attorneys were powerless, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death and hanged, the execution taking place on December 8. The law had acted with certainty and without delay.

In March, 1906, the negro janitor of one of the public schools made an insulting proposal to a white school-girl and laid his hands on her person. He bore a good character to which several white people testified, and while there was no shaking the testimony of the little girl, it was his word against hers, and he was convicted of a minor crime and sentenced to twelve months on the roads.

On July 31 there was an assault by a negro upon a young girl, Miss P., in one of the suburbs of Atlanta. It should be understood, and will be from these recitals, that every neighbor of an outraged family turns out at once to help in hunting down the criminal, and that, with a city like Atlanta near, he generally escapes. A number of neighbors helped the county police in searching for this negro, found him, with the evidences of his crime, took him before the girl, who unhesitatingly identified him, and instantly he was shot by some of the citizens who had caught him, the bullets wounding the two white men who were holding him, and this was done just before the county police arrived. His dead body was brought to Atlanta, and the effort to discover the men who shot him was futile. This is the only lynching of a criminal that has occurred.

On July 20 a negro boy assaulted a negro girl one day, and a white girl, a mere child, the next, in the country, some thirty miles from Atlanta. He confessed to the first crime and was brought to the jail in Atlanta for safe-keeping, "the Tower," as it is called, being impregnable to the attacks of a mob.

On August 15 Mrs. H. was criminally assaulted by a negro, who escaped capture, those arrested on suspicion not having been identified.

On August 20 there was a brutal assault, in another suburb of Atlanta, upon Misses M. and E. L., the former a visitor from England, and the latter a mere child. Both were terribly injured in the struggle. It is believed that, after weeks of search, the right negro has been taken. There were threats of lynching one or two suspects. The negro captured is confined in the Tower and has been indicted by the Grand Jury.

On August 26 the number of county police was trebled, being increased from twelve to thirty-six, and it was agreed to add forty policemen to the city force on the first of October—which was too late.

On August 24 Miss W., a school-teacher, went to a spring on private property and was accosted and pursued by a negro, but escaped his clutches. He also escaped arrest.

On September 20, Thursday afternoon preceding the riot, Mrs. K. was assaulted near Fort McPherson, and, with the rumors of the gathering of a mob, Governor Terrell left the dinner that was given in honor of Mr. Bryan's visit, and called out the military, who conducted the negro arrested for this crime from Fort McPherson to the jail in Atlanta. Mrs. K. failed to identify the one arrested.

The same night a half-clad negro, who was probably intoxicated, but who had hidden his clothing for disguising himself afterward, entered a house in the heart

[1] Where initials are given, the author mentioned the names, which we suppress out of regard for the feelings of the individuals.—THE EDITORS.

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of the city, attacked a mother and her two daughters, who successfully defended themselves, and was captured by the neighbors and landed in jail.

Friday evening a negro who was delivering ice was shown where to put it by a young white girl, when he seized her by the hand and kissed her. He was caught and lodged in jail.

Saturday, September 22, a negro came to the home of Mrs. C. in another suburb, was ordered away, and then hid in the barn, whence he issued later and pursued Mrs. C. to her house, when she caught up an unloaded gun and drove him off.

The same afternoon Mrs. A., in another suburb, was attacked on the rear porch of her home by a negro, her husband being away. But she had persuaded her brother to stay at the house that evening, and her screams brought him to her aid. A negro suspect was arrested for this crime during Sunday of the riot, and while being brought to town in a buggy managed to pull the reins so that the buggy was overturned by a street-car, and so he escaped.

The same evening, Saturday, Miss A., eighteen years of age, was attacked on the back porch of her home by a negro, who threw her to the floor. Her screams also brought help, but the negro escaped.

At eight o'clock that night Mrs. H. went to the window to close the blinds, and saw a negro at the window, according to her account. But by this time there was a shadow of dread on every home in the city, and it may have been her imagination.

I believe this to be an entirely accurate account of the crimes and attempted crimes that struck terror to the hearts of the white women, and of every man who had to leave his womankind at all unprotected. Men with families to protect went early to their homes Saturday evening, leaving to the negroes and the white hoodlums largely the possession of the streets.

May I suggest here a comparison? The population of Atlanta is, in round numbers, a hundred thousand; of New York, four millions. Multiply everything by forty. Suppose in New York City there had been, say, four hundred and eighty assaults, or attempted assaults, upon white women of your city, by Chinese brutes—two hundred and forty in three days, one hundred and sixty in one afternoon; that the New York papers, yellow or otherwise, had published extras describing these assaults; that the police, with the best will in the world, had succeeded in arresting only a small number of these criminals, compared with those who escaped; and that the whole white population of the city had come to believe that the different Chinese quarters of the city were hiding and protecting these criminals of their own race, successfully baffling detection of the guilty: what would the New York mob have done under those circumstances? What could have prevented their indiscriminate slaughter of the Chinese?

And this is the heart of the matter of the race antagonism. Individual and sporadic cases of assault would have been, as they always have been heretofore in the South, ascribed to the individual. But the unheard-of frequency of the crimes in two months, with the cumulative aggravation of the last three days, made it a race matter; while the failure to find the guilty, and the absolute indifference of the negroes to the punishment of the criminal, to say the most charitable thing, arrayed white against black, as it was believed that black had already been arrayed against white, and in a matter that has been the distinction of the Saxon race since Tacitus wrote of it—its jealousy of the honor of its women. Certainly there was the appearance of conspiracy, of the many or the few. There was the universal suspicion that the criminals were known to the negroes, and there was never the slightest effort on the part of any negro to bring any of them to justice. The excuse generally given is that the criminals would have been lynched. But why is the negro race so determined for the rule of law and order in this one particular, unless there is racial sympathy with the criminal? In the only trial for assault that I ever witnessed, the criminal was as evidently the hero of the occasion to the negro half of the audience in the court-house as he was the villain to the white spectators.

The story of the riots, whose disgrace

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Atlanta keenly feels, has been made even worse than it was by the stories sent out from Atlanta for the papers. The beginnings of the riot were apparently insignificant. Peachtree Street is crossed, in the heart of the city, by another street, called on the east side Decatur and on the west Marietta. Within the open triangular square at this point all the street-cars of the city come for the transfer of passengers. Saturday night it is always full of people passing to and fro, and a crowd can be gathered in five minutes. The news of the four assaults that had been attempted that afternoon and evening, published in night extras by one of the papers, was enough to block the streets and the open space. At the same time the police were conducting a raid upon the negro dives on Decatur Street, two or three blocks away. This attracted a crowd in that direction. A negro girl was shot in a negro row and killed, early in the evening. The negroes had resisted their capture by the police in the raid. There were but fifty-seven police on duty that night. Presently the news was brought that two white boys had been held up and robbed by a gang of negro toughs on the outskirts of the city, and doubtless the rumor grew as it passed from mouth to mouth. Then, with the police occupied in the raid, a crowd of boys and young hoodlums began chasing the negroes on Decatur Street. Finally, on the corner of Peachtree and Decatur Street, a negro snatched a pocketbook from a woman, and a white man sprang upon him. Two negroes came to their comrade's aid, and they were at once attacked by several white people, while a negro telegraph messenger was also set upon. The four negroes got away, but the telegraph messenger presently returned, was recognized by his former assailants, and was brutally killed by the crowd that had now become a mob. The mob started toward Decatur Street, and were held back by the police until the fire department came to the rescue and turned the hose on them, when the mob separated into smaller mobs. Then the street-cars began coming to the crossing, and the mob, having already tasted blood, began dragging the negroes from the cars and beating them with sticks. Some of these were killed, though the most escaped without serious injury. By this time, say half-past ten, the character of the mob had been changed by the emptying of the bar-rooms, which close at ten o'clock. It is estimated that there were seven thousand in the mob that now crowded Peachtree, Decatur, and Marietta Streets at their crossing. It overflowed into side streets, attacked two negro barbers and killed one of them, and attacked the porters in a Pullman car near by. In all, there were eight negroes killed Saturday night, including the girl who was shot by negroes.

Either the Mayor, the Sheriff, or the Governor could have called out the military. In the face of the provocation given to mischief by a mob, the delay in this matter is inexcusable. All should have been on the alert. Atlanta has recently elected a new Mayor and Georgia a new Governor, from whom better things are expected. But a member of the State militia called up Colonel Clifford Anderson, commander of the regiment, and told him of the mob and asked if he should turn in the riot alarm. Colonel Anderson asked him to find the Mayor at once and get a request from him. The Mayor had tried moral suasion and cold water, but it was a time for the cold steel. After an hour's delay the Mayor communicated with Colonel Anderson, who in the meantime had communicated with the Governor, but it was a quarter to twelve before the request for the military reached Colonel Anderson, and, as he lived two miles from the center of the city, it was a quarter past twelve when he reached the armory. By that time some seventy-five men of the three hundred State militia of Atlanta had reached the armory, and Colonel Anderson put himself at their head and stopped the progress of a mob of two hundred men that came down the streets. The loading with ball cartridges and the fixing of bayonets dispersed this mob, and it never assembled in any large proportions during the three following days while the military, reinforced by companies from other cities, were in possession of the city.

At the breaking out of the riot the

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hardware stores sold out their stock of firearms in a few minutes, and the mob broke into the pawn-shops on Decatur Street in the search for pistols and guns. But there was no more killing of negroes after the first attack already described. The negroes had taken the alarm and gone, some to their homes, but thousands to the homes of the white people on whom they had some claim as old servants or friends. The case of the woman who protected a negro man from the mob that was pursuing him was typical. And this is one bright spot in the dark story. Any Southern man would protect an innocent negro who appealed to him for help, with his own life if necessary.

Sunday was a trying day for the military. Little roving bands of hoodlums would appear first in one part and then in another of the city. Sunday night one negro was chased into the Aragon Hotel and was supposed to have been killed by a pistol shot, but he escaped. Another negro was badly wounded and sent to the Grady Hospital. Street-cars carrying negroes were attacked, but no injury was done beyond putting the negroes off the cars in some instances. Street-cars with white passengers, passing through negro settlements, were fired into by the negroes, and windows were broken with stones. But it was hoped that Monday morning would see the last of the rioting.

Atlanta is inclosed by a semicircle of colleges for negroes, but their fall terms had not opened and there were few students in the settlements. Beginning with Atlanta University, co-educational, there come next the Atlanta Baptist College for men, and Spelman Seminary for women. Then come Clark University, Gammon Theological Seminary, and the Morris Brown College. A fruitful subject of consideration would be the real influence for good upon the negro race exerted for a generation by the kind of education that has been given the pupils. But this by the way. Adjoining the grounds of Clark University is the negro settlement called Brownsville. During the year a part of the village was destroyed by fire, and an appeal was made upon the citizens by the Mayor for contributions for rebuilding it, which I understand was quite liberally answered. On Monday whites and blacks had both been ordered to disarm, so far as parading the streets was concerned. The law against carrying concealed weapons was of course in force. Monday night it was learned that the Brownsville settlement was arming for retaliation. It has always been a center of disturbance. But a very direct and circumstantial telephone message came for protection against a threatening mob of white men from a house in Brownsville, accurately describing the location and appealing for help. A squad of the county police, six or eight men, was sent out in answer to this call. On reaching Brownsville they arrested several armed negroes, and left them guarded by two of their number while the others went to the place where the trouble had appeared. This little squad of men, sent for the protection of the negroes, walked into a trap, carefully laid. They marched down a wide street with houses on both sides. At the end of the street a body of armed negroes was waiting. One of them gave a signal in a loud voice, "Number One," and the squad was fired upon from the front, both sides, and the rear. Officer James Heard was instantly killed, and three of his men were wounded. Yet they returned the fire and killed six negroes and wounded four more who were found by the military next day. The news of this encounter, sent back to town, created excitement anew, and the mob formed again, and, meeting a street-car with two negro prisoners from Brownsville, chased them into the front porch of a white resident and shot them to death. This occasioned the death by fright of a white woman who witnessed the scene. After the attack on the county police a cordon of the military was thrown around Brownsville in order to arrest the guilty parties the next day. Tuesday every house in the town was entered by the soldiers, and some two hundred and fifty negroes temporarily held, while the search was proceeding and inquiries being made. They were all disarmed, and those with concealed weapons, or under suspicion of having been in the party firing on the police, were sent to jail. Two negroes were shot by the soldiers in this encounter



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with the Brownsville population. Those wounded the night before were sent to the hospital, and the others, about forty in number, were sent to jail.

This was the end of the disturbance.

On the side of law and order, there might be mentioned the splendid conduct of the State militia, the meeting of citizens calling for the punishment of the rioters, the arrest by the police and the military of twoscore rioters, the action of the City Recorder in giving heavy penalties to those brought before him and requiring heavy bonds on appeal, the charge to the Grand Jury by Judge Pendleton—which was all that could be desired—and the probable verdicts by the petty juries in punishment of the white rioters at Atlanta and the negro rioters at Brownsville.

But while deploring and denouncing the action of the rioters, and feeling the disgrace that has come to the city, suffering also from the loss of business that has come through the interruption of trade, the white people of Atlanta breathe more freely, when thinking of their own homes, than they have done for weeks. It is a universal feeling that the thunder-storm has cleared the atmosphere, and that a long era of peace between the races has begun. The altered demeanor of the negroes has been very noticeable. What a writer in the October Century calls the negro's "bumptiousness" is gone. The thousand appeals for protection have created new sympathy for this child-race among us; and it would be uncandid to deny that the negroes have been taught a needed lesson, even by the indiscriminate violence of the mob. It is this:

For the first time the negroes have been impressed with the truth that the individual criminal who lays his hand upon a white woman is a menace to the mass. The first resolutions denouncing the crime of assault, of which the sincerity was evident, have been passed by the Atlanta negroes since the riots. The negro criminal will have little sympathy from his own race in Atlanta for some time to come. The negro of slavery days or war times who would have attempted such a crime would have been torn to pieces by his fellow-slaves. If now the law of self-preservation shall lead the negroes sincerely to condemn this crime, to aid in the detection of the criminal and his delivery to justice, the crime itself may at last become sporadic and infrequent.

And if the Northern press were to remember the illogical processes of the negro's mind, how he perverts the denunciation of lynching into an approval of the provocative crime, it would leave the lynching to be attended to by Southern opinion and warn the negroes of their danger in its committal.

And, as a friend of the negro, I would deprecate more than anything else such advice as he has received in certain quarters to make retaliation and thus protect himself. There has been but one white man killed in Atlanta. There was none in Wilmington. In anything like a race war the negro has everything to lose. It means for him, not battle, but extermination.

One other question our people are considering—whether, in accordance with the precedent of prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians, and, by international agreement, its prohibition in certain isles of the Pacific, a local law preventing the sale of rum to negroes, with exceptions in cases of sickness, or a State law to the same effect, would be a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Does that amendment allow us to protect the negro from what has caused the destruction of the weaker races elsewhere?

Atlanta, Georgia. A. J. McKELWAY.

## *II.—A NORTHERN BLACK POINT OF VIEW*

You will, of course, be able to realize that the terrible outburst of race hatred at Atlanta a little over two weeks ago has deeply stirred the colored people of the North. I confess I have been stirred to the depths, and have eagerly read everything I could obtain bearing upon the situation. I was genuinely pleased with your very just utterances in the editorial comment in The Outlook of September 30. However, in the article of October 6 entitled "Racial Self-

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Restraint," I believe you have in the more important features reasoned from wrong premises, and that, perhaps unconsciously, you have let your own prejudiced feeling color your conclusions.

I fully agree with you that "although the trouble is, for the present, ended, the danger of its recurrence there or elsewhere is not removed." I also agree that "this is an evil for which all Americans can unite in seeking a cure;" and that "if the conditions can be understood, a way to a remedy can be found."

The way to a remedy is self-evident, and I am astonished that you do not seem to know it! It consists in living up to the Golden Rule. The "condition" is the result of "man's inhumanity to man." Change that, and the remedy will have been found.

Our black ancestors were savages. The God we serve is the God revealed to us by you. It is the white man who has brought us this message of salvation; it is he who has put this inspired Word of God, the Holy Bible, into our hands; and it is he who has taught us to read it, not only in the translation, but in the original Hebrew and Greek. To me, then, comes the burning question, "If this be true, as you profess to believe, how can it be possible that your profession and your actions so ill accord? If you believe that not one jot or tittle of his Word shall fail, and if you believe that your neighbor is the man spoken of in the parable, and if you believe that you must love your neighbor as yourself, the question of how the negro should be treated is as clear as the noonday sun."

I feel very sure that this obvious and simple remedy will not be tried; that the white Christians of America are not, in the main, willing to do unto the black millions exactly as they would that men should do to them.

Well, then, let us pass on! You say, "The black and white races are distinct. In this condition no change is desirable and no change possible." Then you point out that this very isolation of the negro, which you say renders him practically an alien, makes him irresponsible. That, it seems to me, is the very reason why he should not be left distinct, isolated, and alien. And your statement that no change is possible is dogmatically stated as a fact wholly unsupported by reason.

Further you say, "When he sees privileges, denied him on account of race, granted to those whom he regards as inferiors, his contempt is changed to enmity." This is only half of the truth, only one side of the question. When the poor whites who have all their lives been taught to hate and despise the negro see him take heart and look up, and watch him as he rubs elbows with them as together they struggle up the ladder of progress, the hatred of these poor whites for the negro is increased and intensified.

It is true that "in Atlanta there is an unusually large number of cultivated negroes, many with college education." True also that "they have little to do with the poorer, less educated negroes;" but the reason you allege is far, far from the truth. It is not because of "their social separation from the great body of their race," but because to come into frequent contact with them they must undergo the most degrading humiliations, discriminations, and insults—things impossible for men of spirit to bear with equanimity. The negro is willing that these lines of discrimination be drawn on any other ground than race or color.

You say, "Furthermore, they are too much concerned about certain rights and too little appreciative of their opportunities." Do you think it possible for men to be too much concerned about the right to be treated as men? Is there to you, a son of that old Puritan stock that loved liberty better than life, anything dearer than the *right* to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

And will you be so kind as to point out a single opportunity for the negro in Atlanta?

Mail-carriers in the discharge of their duty are insulted and molested. During the recent riot colored barbers were dragged out of their shops and mobbed. The postmaster and storekeeper at South Atlanta was thrown in jail for no offense, and the arrest of Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, of Gammon Theological Seminary, and Dr. Coogman, President of Clark University

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(the very flower and culture of our manhood), shows all too clearly that the riot was not directed at the vicious negro so much as at the progressive negro. One way for you to get even faintly some idea of the ignominy which a negro suffers is to strive with all the power of your imagination to "put yourself in his place." Better still, masquerade as a negro in Georgia for the space of one little month!

I agree with what you say of a "Georgia political campaign reinforced by unscrupulous journalistic methods," only of course with greater emphasis.

I come now to the point where we disagree utterly.

"The idea that it [the race] might be removed by assimilation is *not* open to argument." And pray why not? My ancestors were as much white as black, and family tradition says there were the Governors of two States among the number. Personally, assimilation is as distasteful to me as I surmise it is to you. Nevertheless, I recognize the right of any man, black or white, to make his own choice in the matter of the marital relationship.

"There remains but one cure: some method of requiring the black race to exercise self-control." This should be amended to read, "some method of requiring *both* races to exercise self-control."

Thomas Nelson Page's suggestion might possibly be a good thing, provided the idea of negro policemen obtained throughout the whole régime. I mean if there were also negro judges, lawyers, and juries to try negro lawbreakers arrested by negro police. Nothing could be worse than the present system; for if you know aught of these things in the South, you know that for a negro to get justice is almost impossible.

The best way for the people, not only of Atlanta but of the United States, to do is to treat the negro as a citizen of this Republic, with rights which all are bound to respect. Grant him no farms, give him no special privileges. Give him his just deserts, but let him have justice.

One last word regarding self-restraint. When it is generally conceded that the newly elected Governor of Georgia, one of the thirteen original States of our glorious Republic, secured his election through his superior ability to stir up race hatred and the lowest animal passions—and he, be it remembered, a member of the superior white race; and when for three days a white mob had control of Atlanta, attacking, maiming, and killing whomsoever it wished, provided only his face was black—I say that when this is the spectacle presented by the proud white race to a gaping world, a lecture to blacks on self-restraint becomes indeed a roaring farce!

CARRIE W. CLIFFORD.
Honorary President Ohio Federation of Colored Women's Clubs.

## *III.—FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A MISSIONARY COLLEGE*

In your recent editorial regarding "Racial Self-Restraint" the charge is brought against the cultivated negroes of Atlanta that they have little to do with the poorer, less educated negroes, and therefore have little restraining influence over them. This charge seems to me unjust in view of what is actually being done through the efforts of these very people. Some time ago your representative who was studying the churches in the South reported that, of all the churches he had visited, the First Congregational Church of Atlanta, whose pastor is the Rev. H. H. Proctor, was one of the best organized for work. As the result of the earnest and unceasing effort of this negro pastor, two of the worst negro "dives" in the city were closed long before the recent outbreak between the races occurred. His church maintains several missions in the city, in which negroes who have had the opportunities of education come into sympathetic touch with the less fortunate. Several other of the negro churches and the negro Young Men's Christian Association afford occasions for the cultivated people of this race to meet and help the poorer and less educated.

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Perhaps the most general recent movement in this direction was the organization of the Gate City Free Kindergarten Association about two years ago. By means of this Association last year two free kindergartens were established and maintained in poorer parts of the city for the little waifs of this race. Through the Mothers' Meetings many of the families were also reached and helped. Almost all of the negro churches and schools in the city contribute to the support of this association. A third kindergarten has been opened this fall, and plans for a fourth are under way.

It must be remembered, too, that the public schools for the negroes afford an opportunity for the best-educated negroes, from whom the teachers are chosen, to come constantly into touch with some of the most ignorant, whose children are among their pupils. Many of these young teachers, trained as they are in Christian schools, show more than professional interest in their pupils. Entirely apart from church organization or school system, a great amount of genuine Christian service is done by individual negroes, simply out of the largeness of their hearts.

There is, no doubt, need for a great deal more of the sort of work suggested; but we should take into consideration the fact that the negroes, even the most well-to-do, have little surplus either of money or of time to use in service of the less fortunate. The opportunity for making money and saving money is not as good for colored people as it is for white. And, since the riots, the incentive to save and invest in business or homes in Atlanta is even less than it was before, so that many substantial negro men are making plans to sell what they own and go elsewhere to live. Few of the negro mothers have servants with whom they may leave their children and the cares of the household while they turn their attention to the needs of the less fortunate. Many of them even have to work as teachers, or helping their husbands in store or office, in order to eke out a respectable living for their families. The problem of providing daily bread is much more immediate in the case of the educated negroes of Atlanta than in the case of people of similar culture and attainments and standards of living among those of another race. Considering their limitations in financial resources and in ability to command their time, it seems to me that the educated negroes of Atlanta are doing much for their less fortunate neighbors, and that the charge that they have little to do with them is unjust.

In some form this charge of having nothing to do with the ignorant of their race is often brought against the educated negroes, and frequently with an inconsistency that ill conceals the source of the charge. A young man recently said, "The Mississippi negroes are a worthless, low-down set." When asked about the educated negroes, he answered, "They are spoiled; they think themselves above the others of their race." Is it a strange thing, or is it wrong, that men and women who have had the advantages of education and culture do not care to fraternize with or consider themselves "exactly like" those who are still in the gutter? Nobody accuses the residents in Fifth Avenue of being unduly exalted because they do not fraternize with the denizens of Hell's Kitchen. If the cultured negroes choose for their companions and friends people like themselves in interests and attainments, are they to be blamed? If most of them attend the one or two churches in the city where they hear a man with like education with themselves preach, and do not go to hear some ignorant man exhort and shout in the real old-fashioned darky manner, are they to be blamed or counted too good for their race or station in life?

As it appears to me, the source of the charge of the aloofness of educated negroes from the masses is in most cases as follows: The evident fact that such negroes are in some genuine qualities different from and better than the masses of their people is irritating to those who are not in sympathy with the progress of the negro race. Thus many qualities which in a white man are regarded with favor are in a negro regarded with disfavor. What in a white man is evidence of self-respect is in a negro evidence of arrogance or insolence; and what in a

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white man is simply seeking congenial companions is in a negro considering himself better than his people—in short, trying to raise himself out of the station of inferiority where some men dare to say he is destined to remain forever by the decree of God.

Atlanta University. EDWARD T. WARE.

# INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY[1]

## THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR MOVEMENT

### BY ALICE HENRY

MISS JANE ADDAMS, in her "Democracy and Social Ethics," remarks upon the paradox that it is the workingman, the man who should apparently be most limited in his mental outlook, who, given a free hand, will always sketch out the largest programme. This piece of acute social insight receives confirmation from a study of the labor movement at the antipodes. There as nowhere else has the workingman had a free hand, and here is what the Australian workingman lays down as the ideal for Australia to aim at:

FEDERAL LABOUR PARTY

OBJECTIVE

(*a*) The cultivation of an Australian sentiment, based upon the maintenance of racial purity, and the development in Australia of an enlightened and self-reliant community.

(*b*) The securing of the full results of their industry to all producers by the collective ownership of monopolies, and the extension of the industrial and economic functions of the State and municipality.

There is certainly something fine and comprehensive about a programme like this. Are they wild-eyed doctrinaires or revolutionary apostles of force, these men who subscribe to this creed and who, in the strength of this faith, are the leading political force of Australia to-day?

Neither, assuredly. The labor movement in Australia has, it is true, its theoretical side, represented above, though in Australia one does not hear so very much of labor theories, and while there is much newspaper talk, there is little real disquiet felt on account of them. As familiar to the Australian, and as recognized in its results by the outside world, the practical side is the one that concerns us to-day. And there is undoubtedly an underlying element of unusual strength in a cause which can not only combine with a broad theoretical programme the carrying out of such every-day measures of reform as factory acts and suffrage extension, but which expects finally to attain the complete consummation of its ideals through the gradual process of social evolution in which such apparently commonplace legislation is the chief factor.

The pioneers of the labor movement were those artisans who, as far back as the early fifties, strove, and strove successfully, to introduce the eight-hour system among the principal trades in the colony of Victoria. The labor movement proper, however, in Australia is very young. The Labor party had its insignificant beginnings only fifteen years ago, and it has existed as an organized force only eleven years. And yet to-day it holds the balance of power in the Federal Parliament. In the House of Representatives it numbers twenty-five members out of a chamber of seventy-five; in the Senate, sixteen out of thirty-six; and in each house can reckon on the unvarying support of several other members holding labor views. Labor members sit as the direct opposition in the State Parliaments of both New South Wales and Victoria, while labor ministers hold co-equal powers in coalition cabinets in Queensland and in South Australia, where the Premier is a labor man.

To trace the origin of the movement

[1] This is the fourth paper in this series, which began with Dr. F. J. Warne's study of labor conditions in the anthracite coal regions called "Miner and Operator" (The Outlook, March 24, 1906), and was continued in Mr. William Hard's "Labor in the Chicago Stock-Yards" (The Outlook, June 16, 1906), and in Professor John R. Commons's "Restrictions by Trade Unions" (The Outlook, October 27, 1906). Several other articles will follow.—THE EDITORS.

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we must go back to the fall of prices which began about 1886, to the succeeding lean years 1886–92, and the miseries of the consequent period of unsuccessful strikes. The strikers and their working-class sympathizers were taunted with appealing to brute force, and recommended to depend rather upon constitutional political methods for the redress of grievances. The workingmen took the advice and bettered it. The trades unions devoted a portion of their funds and much of their energy to political propaganda. First in New South Wales, later in all the colonies and in many widely separated districts, labor leagues were organized which sketched out a policy and laid down a pledge which all candidates supported by the leagues must sign. These formed the nucleus of a new and independent political party which gave their votes to either Liberal or Conservative indifferently, regardless of which was in office, in return for legislative concessions from either. The new party springing thus almost simultaneously to life all over the continent was at first regarded as a pathetic joke. They were few in numbers, uneducated, inexperienced in affairs of state, and had opposed to them all the wealth and the legal astuteness in every chamber where they held seats. But they were determined, united, and, with rare exceptions, self-sacrificing. They were mutually bound not to take office except with the consent of their fellow-laborites, so that they were labeled from the first as "Not for sale." And from their point of view the plan has succeeded. In New South Wales, for instance, more has been done in the way of electoral and land reform and industrial legislation in thirteen years than ministries or the efforts of individual radical members had been able to accomplish during the previous thirty-five years of responsible government. On the statute-book, it is true, all these advances stand to the credit of this Cabinet or that, but they would not have been there at all had it not been for the insignificant third party which, holding the balance, gave thus early evidence of the power it is now wielding in the making and unmaking of ministries. On the other hand, Tasmania, the island colony, which alone among Australian States has had up to the present no labor party, is also the one with no industrial legislation.

The following are the measures that the party is working for in the arena of Federal legislation for the whole of Australia. Thus reads the

FIGHTING PLATFORM

1. Maintenance of a White Australia.
2. Nationalization of Monopolies.
3. Old Age Pensions.
4. Tariff Referendum.
5. Progressive Tax on Unimproved Land Values.
6. Restriction of Public Borrowing.
7. Navigation Laws.
8. Citizen Defense Force.
9. Arbitration Act Amendment.

Of this the general platform is an enlargement, going into details of measures demanded.

The same extremely democratic principles are to be found in the platforms of the party regarding State and municipal legislation, differing only in details according to local needs. Land taxation, municipal control of all community enterprises, the initiative and referendum, and all education up to the highest university degrees free to all, these are among the demands of this uncompromising party.

The daringly experimental character of Australian labor legislation is well exemplified in the plea for a White Australia. In response originally to the cry of the miners in the early days of the gold fever, Chinese immigration was first restricted. Later the evils connected with the importation of Kanakas from the South Sea Islands under forms of indenture that came perilously near meaning slavery, accompanied, too, by all the cruelties of kidnapping, drew public attention to the risks of the industrial conditions that were developing in connection with sugar-growing in the north. Similar attempts to introduce coolie laborers into Victoria were invariably defeated. The Labor party at length cut the knot by demanding the exclusion of all colored races, and so far it has gained its point, and the system has the approval of the great bulk of Australians, who recognize the grave dangers, both economic and moral,

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which attend the mixing of races of different degrees of development; for, to us all, America with her race problem is ever present as a warning object-lesson. Whether the policy is one that will endure no one can yet foresee. The temerity of a people that calmly proposes to exclude any of the world's races from a great, as yet almost unoccupied, continent is astonishing. But should the policy at some future time have to be modified, the country will still have gained great benefit from the early promulgation of such lofty ideals, from its start having a high standard of both morals and of comfort.

If a continent of which one-third lies within the tropics is, then, to develop its economic possibilities to the full, it must be by the aid of white labor and the use of machinery. Colored labor has been the ready resort of governing classes, whether white or colored themselves, in the past. If a White Australia is to be maintained, its advocates will have to prove that old ideas or old prejudices regarding the ability of the white man to perform hard physical work in tropical heat are baseless, and that machinery can be applied economically to the growing of such crops as sugar-cane, as it has been applied to the grain harvests of temperate climes. Arguments to show that the so-called disabilities of the white worker are greatly overrated appear in a recent report by Dr. Elkington, Chief Medical Officer of Tasmania, and a man with some Indian experience, issued as a parliamentary paper by the Commonwealth.

Similar motives to those which have barred out the colored races have led to the adoption of restrictive legislation like that in force in the United States intended to keep out the physically and mentally defective, and also to prevent the flooding of the market by cheap labor under contract clauses.

But if a White Australia is to hold up its head among the nations of the earth as a self-supporting and self-defending people, it must also be a populous Australia. And if the undesirable classes are to be discriminated against, it is all the more necessary to encourage the coming in of all good classes of citizens. So that to devise some plan of attracting high-class white immigrants is among the questions that the Labor party must take its share in solving, as was admitted by its leader, Mr. Watson, in a speech at Adelaide outlining his policy.

Inseparable from any scheme for attracting population is land legislation. It has been Australia's greatest mistake in the past that she early parted with the title to so much of her soil, and that for a very inadequate consideration, so that now almost all the land which is at once fertile and easily accessible is locked up in private hands and bearing practically no taxation. In the cities this has meant a repetition on a smaller scale of the high rents and housing difficulties of older countries, elsewhere the pushing of the farmer on to the poorer and rougher lands, the consequent heaping up of fortunes by the squatting (or ranching) class, and now the difficulty with which Australia is faced, that she has no good lands near markets to offer immigrants. The proposals which will receive the support of the Labor party are these: The taking of the whole matter out of the hands of the States and placing it, as it is in Canada, in the hands of the Federal Parliament to insure uniformity of policy; the control by the commonwealth of suitable State lands, re-acquired where necessary; and, as an essential corollary to these steps, the imposition of a graduated land-values tax with an exemption limit—this with the double object of raising revenue and of compelling the holder of idle land to sell at a reasonable rate. An alteration of the Constitution may be necessary, but that will be no insuperable bugbear to Australians, who are still misguided enough to believe that the Constitution was made for the nation and not the nation for the Constitution.

Australia is quite familiar with the State control of many monopolies. She already owns her railways, telegraphs, and telephones, and is discussing the question of opening up her iron ores in the same way, so that the further extension of the principle, although meeting with opposition in many quarters, is nowhere regarded as outside practical politics.

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The clause regarding old-age pensions merely extends and places on a Federal basis and renders uniform the aid given already in some of the States.

It is doubtful if in any other country the labor cause has been associated with such an intense spirit of nationalism as is the case in Australia. This sentiment of practical patriotism finds explicit expression in every programme, in the plans for defending the country by a militia locally raised and officered, for an Australian-owned navy, and for the protection of Australian shipping. And no one influence has so guided the course of the labor movement in this direction as that remarkable newspaper The Bulletin, which, along with its strong labor tendencies, has for five-and-twenty years held to this ideal: A land developed through the application of all modern knowledge to be the home of a free people; a people worthy of such a land, a land worthy of such a people.

One of the results of the federation of the colonies accomplished five years ago was the establishment of a uniform tariff, which was a compromise between the revenue tariffists and those who favor high protection. It satisfies neither side, and its alteration is probably near at hand. The Labor party has never had a fiscal policy, a condition of affairs that, needless to say, must come to an end as the party ceases to be a free lance. So on tariff questions it has all along been open to labor members to vote as they listed. The attitude they are taking up at the present juncture is, however, highly characteristic of their belief in the people as in the last resort the sole dictator. They are advocating a tariff referendum, the party pledging itself beforehand to support the popular decision, whatever it may be.

Excessive borrowing under earlier colonial governments has left Australia with a heavy debt of about four hundred dollars per head. The Labor party has never encouraged a borrowing policy, but it has only recently begun to insist upon the need of paying off the existing debt. This it considers can be done satisfactorily only by the Federal Government assuming at once or by degrees the State debts, and this is one of the pressing questions that the next Parliament, which will be elected at the close of the present year, will have to face.

As to the personnel of the labor leaders, almost without exception they are very young. Take away Senator MacGregor, the leader in the Senate, Senator Higgs, the Chairman of Committees, and Mr. Price, State Premier of South Australia, and the rest, including the Federal leader himself, Mr. J. C. Watson, are under forty, some under thirty. Most of them come from the laboring or artisan classes, and a good many of them went to work at nine, ten, and eleven years of age. Is it any wonder that they desire that no Australian child should do as they did? That they have come into public life so young is a great advantage to their cause. They have more years before them to give to the working out of their policy than most politicians of other parties, and they give much more time. The business man or the lawyer in Australia gives but a share of his time, often but the fag-ends of his days or nights, to his public duties. The labor member must give it all, or the party—that united, well-disciplined party—would not support him at the next election, and his career would be at an end. And he does give it all. The labor politician has his rewards, but they are not money prizes. When Mr. Batchelor was a State minister in South Australia at a salary of five thousand dollars a year, he resigned at the request of the party that he might contest—only contest—a Federal seat carrying a salary of but two thousand dollars.

Friend and foe alike pay tribute to the magnificent organization and discipline of the movement, and to the personal disinterestedness of the leaders. A great economy of effort is insured by having a platform and organization practically identical for the Federal, State, and municipal elections, and for general propaganda work, and consequently being able to utilize the same bodies—the local political labor leagues—and the same workers for what seems to them social righteousness, whether in national, State, or municipal concerns. The Labor party was born of trades-unionism, and its whole administration has been based

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on trades union methods. The political labor leagues were at first composed of trades-unionists, and are still closely in touch with trades unions. These are the bodies who vote for the selection of candidates for all elections and for delegates to the annual and triennial State and Federal conferences of the party. The Labor party in Parliament may be the controlling force, but no other party in Australia has to carry out the behests of its constituents as does this.

We now come to the pledge and the caucus. The pledge, which was first drafted by the New South Wales Labor Conference in 1895, reads as follows:

PLEDGE

I hereby pledge myself not to oppose the candidate selected by the recognized political Labour organisation, and, if elected, to do my utmost to carry out the principles embodied in the Federal Labour Platform, and on all questions affecting the Platform to vote as a majority of the Parliamentary Party may decide at a duly constituted caucus meeting.

Candidate's signature .....

Date.....

As the pledge binds all members to carry out the general principles of a platform decided for him by the united labor vote of Australia, so each man has his vote in the legislature decided for him beforehand on all details of that policy by the caucus vote of his party in the legislature, before or during the course of debate. The advocates of the system say that this is the only way in which any consistent policy can be carried out to a successful end. Opponents assert that in it we have the germs of machine politics, and that labor may by and by pay dearly for its present victory. The large amount of direct representation in Australia, and the increasing probabilities of the initiative and referendum being more largely used, may check this tendency.

Closely connected with the question of a pledge is that of lasting alliances between the Labor party and other political parties. During the present Parliament Mr. Watson, with the consent of the other Federal members, had promised the Liberal members with whom he had been in alliance that they should not be opposed by labor candidates at the coming elections. This promise the outside labor organizations now refuse to ratify, and the matter is likely to lead to very hot discussions and possibly some secessions in the near future.

The Labor party has molded the national policy of the young federated commonwealth, has materially modified State legislation, and it has done that as a political free lance. But the stage during which that was possible is coming to an end. Already it is ceasing to be an irresponsible third party with all the advantages of power and weighted by none of the practical problems of administration. And as this stage passes completely away, the Labor party will become a leading party, and the present parties amalgamate into one conservative party. With this must come fresh problems to be solved.

The strength of the movement lies in the completeness of its organization, in its steady use of the means at hand to attain its ultimate goal by the acceptance of every radical measure. This very policy of opportunism, as it has been called, means that it has since the earliest days been in touch and in sympathy with the great mass of ordinary people, with those who never have, and who do not now, belong to the party, who talk against it very likely, but who at bottom are at one with it on many big questions. Its weak side is found in the fact that it was born of trades-unionism, and that some of the narrowness of the pure trade-unionist still clings to many labor men.

One is often asked what is the relation of the Australian labor movement to Socialism. The query could perhaps be more satisfactorily answered if the relation of Socialism itself to the socialistic movement could first be defined. The Australian labor movement is part of the bigger world-movement, just as Socialism is. It embraces, however, many avowed Socialists, and their number is probably yearly increasing. It has never adopted the title "Socialism," but its opponents have now almost ceased to talk about "labor" aims and policies, and speak (at first it was with contempt, but lately with the respect paid to a successful rival) of labor men as Socialists, and of their platform as Socialism.

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# *CONCERNING HEROES WHO HUNT RABBITS*

## *BY PETER RABBIT*

*As Interpreted by William J. Long*

THE rabbit was chased by a noisy dog this morning, and was then fired at by a man with a gun, and finally escaped both afflictions by doubling on his trail and scrambling under a stone heap. Now, far be it from me to judge a clover patch by its weeds and thistles, or to condemn a rational universe because things sometimes run amuck through it. Doubtless the dog was amusing himself in his own way by his crazy yelping; probably the man also was living his own life, such as it was, in trying to kill something; and the rabbit was certainly following life and good rather than death and evil—which, according to your prophets, are the only two alternatives in the world—when he tried to keep his thinking in his own skin, where he likes to have it. But now that the man and the dog have gone off to kill something else, and the rabbit is back in his brier patch once more, the time seems propitious for a quiet meditation on the manly sport of hunting.

Said a gentle English poet, "What a beautiful morning! What a heavenly day! Let us go out and kill something," and the mild sarcasm was not lost even on a slow people that rank sport next to religion and politics. Of late many men have been debating this same subject as they went talking by the rabbit's brier patch; and the occasion of their much talking seems to be that two of your great representative men have been hunting, and of course, after the manner of men, have also been writing about it.

Just who these two men are and just what they represent is a little difficult for the rabbit to determine. From what he has heard, they are called presidents, or chief magistrates, and the difference between them is that one has ridden a donkey and the other rides an elephant. One of these great men went hunting ducks and rabbits, and unwisely wrote a little article about it; the other went hunting bears and elk, and unwisely wrote a characteristic big book; and you men, who first choose a ruler from necessity and then abuse him from choice, have been making both uneasy by your criticisms.

Both these great men affirm that hunting is a fine, manly sport; that it develops the hardy virtues and the courage of your race. Says the representative rabbit hunter: "I count it by no means bad skill to force the rabbits, by a successful shot, to a topsy-turvy pause when at their best speed." And again: "The hunter [after a fatal shot at a hounded rabbit] experiences the delight born of a well-fed sense of superiority and self-pride; and this is the most gratifying factor in every sporting indulgence." And the article concludes by assuring your timorous souls who bide at home that "if rabbit-hunting is to be a manly recreation, entirely free from meanness, the little cottontail must be given a fair chance for his life."

Now the rabbit, whose philosophy leads him to the other fellow's view-point in every question at issue, has, in order to understand the exact situation, armed himself in imagination with a terrible rapid-fire cannon, and called some enormous mastiffs, as big as elephants, and has gone out to shoot some harmless representative men. After bagging a few chief magistrates, he comes back to his brier patch and eats a good dinner, and then sits down with an open mind to repeat the above sentiments of your first hunter. Then he goes into his own head and examines it to find what your psychologists call the content of consciousness—which, of course, must have been in the man's head when he wrote his article after his rabbit-hunting. To his surprise, the rabbit finds in his head,



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as the chief content of consciousness, not a solitary thought nor a shadow of noble feeling, but pure vanity and thoughtlessness. These, therefore, must be your idea of the manly virtues. And so, to increase them, the rabbit ventures a few suggestions.

It is perhaps great skill to bring a live rabbit to a topsy-turvy death, the manner of his pause indicating the effort he was making to save his life. But there is a finer skill yet. A rabbit, you know, often cries out just like one of your own babies when hurt. I would suggest that, instead of killing us at once, you try to hit us with a single pellet of shot in the exact spot that makes us cry by hurting without disabling us, and to keep this up as long as possible before the topsy-turvy end. That would be skill indeed; and, aside from the sense of extra superiority and self-pride involved, it would remind you pleasantly of your own children at home, and so the pleasure of your hunting would be increased.

There was a queer little man—one of your natural philosophers, I am told—who used frequently to go through the brier patch, and his fellows called him Thoreau. I never saw him with a gun, but he discoursed briefly and to the point, one day, on the "superiority and self pride" involved in hunting. "Snipe and woodcock furnish excellent sport," he said; "but I maintain that it would be nobler game to go out and shoot one's self."

As for giving the little cottontail a "fair chance for his life," that is all that any wild animal asks; but, of course, that is impossible so long as you are skillful shots, and employ dogs and repeating guns and perfect cartridges, each containing four or five hundred lead pellets to be turned loose upon one small rabbit. The rabbit might make good shift to care for himself against dog, or man, or gun; but the three together resemble what my cousin, the Belgian hare, calls German diplomacy, which asks all and gives nothing, and is, moreover, brutal in the asking. Here is what seems to a rabbit mind to be a fair chance: Your wits are, from constant practice, much greater than ours, while our legs are more nimble than yours, for the same reason. Do you, therefore, teach us wit, and we will teach you nimbleness. If you must hunt, then, by all the rules of fair play, leave your dogs and scatter-guns at home. Go smell out the rabbit where he hides with your own wits, and chase him with your own legs. That would mean excellent sport for you *and* the rabbit. It would reduce the surplus weight of chief magistrates admirably; it would produce in you alertness, wind, staying power, nimble legs, superb chest development—all the physical virtues. In addition, you men need not be perpetually troubled, as you now are, in making game laws—which, I am told, are regulations to save the game from the many in order that the few may kill it—for you might enjoy yourselves chasing rabbits all the year round, and the game would be always with you.

Your other great representative man, who rides the elephant, uses a similar argument in his big book. It is a record of big-game hunting, and it preaches continually of the courage and hardihood and the other manly virtues developed by the pursuit. A man was reading the book the other day, and the rabbit crept up behind him to listen. He heard beautiful descriptions of the mountains, the glorious thrill of the frosty morning, and the soul-stirring challenge of a bull elk ringing like a bugle-call through the great woods. The rabbit could appreciate all that, for he has felt it himself and has tingled all over at the good sounds and smells in the air. But the man hid behind a tree with a big repeating rifle. The noble elk approached—splendid, magnificent, thinking of no danger in the friendly woods, and sending out his wild bugle-call, not to the man, but to a rival elk across the valley, with whom he had a fair chance. A splendid picture, truly! Then—"I fired into his throat, breaking his neck, and down he went in a heap." The second elk bugles again, not understanding the danger nor the silence of his late rival. The man slips forward and fires to break the noble back. "My aim was true, and the huge beast crashed down hill, pulling himself on his fore legs, his hind quarters trailing." A third elk is bugling melo-

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diously to the other two from a mountain side, and the man, unsatisfied as long as there is more noble work to do, steals up to the unconscious elk, who is sending out his love-call, and "three shots finished him." Then the man tells us, in a swelling of manly pride, that his return to camp "was most happy."

Now, such an ending seems to do violence to the whole picture, and there are some things in it which a rabbit's philosophy cannot fathom. The meat of these three noble animals was at this season unfit for food, and was left to rot in the woods; and the man had already killed an abundance of other animals for camp use. He might, like the savage head-hunters, have desired a trophy; but he already had the heads of four more bull elk, all killed in the same way and left to rot in the woods in this one short hunt—to say nothing of scores more in other hunts. When one of the stricken animals went dragging his broken back down the slope, the man tells us with interest how two moose-birds followed him, "and pounced with ghoulish bloodthirstiness on the gouts of blood that sprinkled the green herbage." Here were two hungry birds satisfying their hunger, and the man sees in it only "ghoulish bloodthirstiness;" but he looks in his own heart, after the needless killing of seven noble and harmless animals, and sees there only pride and a glorification of the manly virtues.

The rabbit feels uncomfortable, as if the cold rain were trickling along his spine, when he thinks of other representative men, of lords and dukes and emperors, who kill a thousand head of game—grouse and hares and harmless deer—in a single hunt, and have their noble photographs taken standing before the rows of slaughtered innocents. And all those things have set the rabbit to thinking, in his brier patch, and to finding out, if he can, just how much thought or thoughtlessness underlies all your hunting.

An admirable editorial in your chief sporting journal, to which the rabbit recently listened, sums up the alleged reasons for hunting and the alleged virtues which it develops. Now, the rabbit always gets at the heart of a carrot as quickly as possible, and this editorial, stripped of all its husks, contains this one reason for hunting: that it is a primitive, natural instinct, and since "Nature provides the laws, the standards of morality, which are the true guides of all mankind," it is wise to follow the instinct, and a foolish or sentimental fad to oppose hunting. The two virtues which hunting develops are, courage and a knowledge of nature. Such, in brief, is the sufficient reason for hunting.

Now, to a rabbit this reason resembles a Shanghai rumor or a Chefoo despatch in the infinitesimal amount of truth contained in it. Most, if not all, the instincts of you men have come down to you from the animals; and there is not in the whole animal kingdom a single hunting animal—that is, an animal that goes out, as you do, and hunts for sport or pleasure. An animal hunts only for food, and only when he is hungry. When his hunger is satisfied, he ceases to hunt, and naturally and instinctively lets the other animals severely alone.

There are but few exceptions to this universal rule. A wolf will sometimes chevy a flock of sheep and kill several of them; but that is because the foolish, crowding animals confuse the wolf, who is used to different game, and rouse a desire to kill that is not naturally present; for the great wolves of the North cease the chase instantly when one deer or caribou out of the herd is pulled down. A weasel kills for the blood, but the rabbit has heard of one Lottridge, a scientist, who asked why this was so, and by a series of experiments proved that a weasel's stomach is generally lined with tapeworms, producing a continual craving for blood. Some weasels he found that would kill only one chicken or rabbit, no matter how many others were present; and upon killing these weasels he found invariably that the stomach was healthy and without the worms that probably set the other weasels to killing everything in sight. Some of your cats also hunt when not in need of food; but that is simply because you have fed and spoiled them, and have so perverted their natural instincts that no rational conclusion can any longer

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be drawn from their actions. The wild animal has no instinct to kill indiscriminately or to hunt for sport; he simply seeks his natural food, and the only instinct you can possibly derive from him in this respect is to go out when you are hungry and take the first thing that satisfies your hunger, and then let all other creatures alone to live their own life in their own way.

It is pointing to a secondary cause to say that you receive the instinct from your savage ancestors; but even here the alleged reason seems, to a rabbit mind, to be without foundation. Your savage ancestors imitated the animals, and hunted for food to sustain life, not for pleasure or sport. More than this, in proportion as your primitive ancestors rose above savagery and became shepherds and agriculturists, hunting decreased steadily. The first primitive man who gathered a herd of animals about him in the thought that they were his friends and helpers in disguise, and that they were far more useful to him alive than dead, made a discovery—indeed, a very great discovery—that lifted him instantly above the low level of the hunter. Legitimate hunting (since there was no more need for food) perished with that discovery, except as the shepherd defended his fields against the inroads of savage beasts—a good kind of hunting, undoubtedly, from the man's standpoint, but for which you now have no excuse or reason whatever.

Even if your hunting were, as you claim, an instinct from your primitive ancestors, you are not therefore justified in following it as such. The rabbit might mention several savage instincts still remaining in you, which, instead of following openly, you conceal in the dark as much as possible and mention only in your treatises on the improvement of morals. But the rabbit, speaking from the animal's standpoint, must again point out to you that hunting as sport is not found among animals or savages, and so you cannot claim it as an inheritance. If it were a primitive instinct, then of course you would find it widespread throughout the race. As a matter of fact, only a very small minority of you men have what you call a sporting instinct. Women, I am told, are more numerous than men; they have also stronger instincts. If hunting were an instinct, then you would naturally expect to find it strongest in women, especially as the female animal generally has to hunt more than the male to support herself and her little ones. Yet your women have no instinct to hunt; indeed, with a few rare exceptions, they seem to have a strong feeling or instinct against it.

As for the character which hunting produces, the rabbit has not heard that your Government, when it wants good men for any purpose, either for war or peace, goes and searches among the hunting set exclusively. The rabbit has heard rumors of the fox-hunting parson in England, and did not know that he was an example of manly virtue to the flock. And in your own New England, which produced in the past a noble breed of men, I have even heard it maintained as a matter of common knowledge that hunters were generally regarded as a shiftless and lazy lot. Each village used to have one or two, and they were generally placed near to the outcasts. Moreover, the rabbit notices a curious thing about you even now. Your sportsmen praise the joy and the fine, manly qualities of your hunting; but when one of your number loves the joy and the fine, manly quality so much that he takes to hunting all the time, trying doubtless to have as much virtue as possible, you turn at once and rend him, calling him vile names, and jailing him at last as a butcher and pot-hunter.

The rabbit has no prejudices—not even against the dog and the shot-gun—and he thinks your present estimate of the pot-hunter, and your New England fathers' estimate of all hunters, is a trifle unjust and narrow; but this very estimate of your own making leads him to speak of the alleged results of hunting upon the manly virtues.

The first of these is courage—that is, a purely physical courage—for it is not even claimed that hunting has any effect upon the higher kind of moral courage, except, perhaps, to decrease it, by making you go against your own better feelings, as many hunters do, in taking life needlessly. Now, there lives near to the

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brier patch a certain well-known naturalist, who has hunted all of your large wild animals, which are often called dangerous; and the rabbit has heard him declare that there is hardly a particle of danger incurred in hunting any wild animal with one of your terrible modern rifles. So far as animals are concerned, it is far more dangerous to cross a city square than to penetrate the Rockies. The grizzly bear was at one time the only possible exception; but now your hunters eliminate all danger by baying the brute with a pack of dogs while they kill him at leisure from a secure distance. Occasionally, but rarely, a wounded animal will charge; but he has no chance whatever against the stream of death-dealing bullets that are turned loose upon him. The wild animals are naturally timid, and avoid man whenever possible; and this naturalist declares, from much experience, that he finds no danger even when he meets them, as he has often done, unarmed and alone. To him it seems not courage, but almost cowardice, to creep upon a harmless animal, like an elk or moose, and shoot it down without a single chance for its life, which is all that it has.

The rabbit has had some experience of its own in this direction. He has often approached a camp of hunters in the woods, and when they were all asleep he has thumped the ground at their heads—a startling sound in the still night, especially if you do not know what makes it. From the way these hunters jumped in alarm, though their tent was full of terrible guns, the rabbit had no great impression of their physical courage—certainly not greater than he has witnessed in a tent full of miners or scientists or fishermen. The rabbit has heard rumors also of a recent frightful war among men, and that the most splendid physical courage was displayed, not by the great bear-hunters of the North, but by a gentle and quiet race of farmers and fishermen.

So the rabbit, who tries to see things as they are, is forced to the conclusion that this claim that hunting produces courage and the manly virtues has some self-deception and some boasting and considerable humbug about it. If the rabbit were a man, and wished to develop physical courage, he would take his gun quietly and go hunting dangerous game—horse-thieves and outlaws and burglars and Yaqui Indians and such, who could shoot back—and would leave the so-called dangerous animals for children to work upon.

As for the claim that hunting brings a man close to nature and teaches him many things, that is undoubtedly true; and that is the only claim that has, to a rabbit mind, any truth or reason in it. On the other hand, it would seem that the man would learn quite as much about nature and animals, and would understand both better, if he went into the woods and left his gun and dog at home; and the rabbit is strengthened in his opinion by the fact that your great scientists and naturalists, your discoverers in the realm of nature, were not followers of Esau and Nimrod, but of Agassiz and Gray and Darwin—gentle men all, and of good courage, and with plenty of the manly virtues that nature made shift to develop without the aid of a shot-gun.

Here, then, is the heart of the carrot: Your hunting is a sport pure and simple, not an instinct or a necessity, but rather one of the things which one of your great teachers had in mind when he wrote, "God made man upright; but he sought out many inventions." The sport gives many of you pleasure, and a better and more wholesome pleasure than many of your other inventions in the same line. On the other hand, it gives many others of you—perhaps a majority of you—pain and misgivings of heart, because of the feeling that your sport is needlessly cruel and inflicts too much suffering, and that it brings to the weaker creatures of your common earth the shadow of fear and death, where, with your superior strength and wisdom, you might bring joy and life instead.

To a rabbit mind it would seem, therefore, that the only question which you can consider with any show of reason and sincerity is, whether or not your pleasure overbalances the pain you give to others. All knowledge is relative; all virtue—even your manly virtue—is but laying aside a lesser for a greater good; and the rabbit has heard with

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interest that your hunters are gradually turning naturalists, that photographs of animals are gradually replacing stuffed heads in your houses, and that some of you prize a full heart even more than a full game-bag.

# ORTHOGRAPHY AND SIMPLIFIED SPELLING

## BY BRANDER MATTHEWS

*Chairman of the Simplified Spelling Board*

THE polished paper of President Wheeler[1] is the ablest attempt which has been made to meet the arguments in favor of a progressive simplification of our orthography. And yet the advocates of simplified spelling can find in it three good reasons for gratification.

In the first place, the one danger which has confronted them is the preoccupation of the public—the possibility that popular interest might fail to be aroused. They believe in their cause so completely that they welcome discussion and even attack, feeling that their case is so strong that they can win adherents whenever attention is centered on the subject. And they may well rejoice when they see one of the most distinguished of our classical scholars turning aside from his exacting duties to prepare a protest against their proposals. This is welcome evidence that they have made themselves formidable enough to demand the most serious consideration.

In the second place, there is pleasure in meeting at last one opponent whose knowledge of language is the solid result of prolonged study, and has not been acquired casually and by intuition.

And, thirdly, the advocates of orthographic improvement have a right to feel encouraged when they consider as a whole the argument now advanced against their program. Probably no opponent will ever appear who is better equipt for debate than the President of the University of California. The case against them is not likely ever to be presented with more force or with more weight—as it is certain never to be presented with more dignity or with more courtesy. But if the argument he advances is the best that can be brought against them, then the advocates of simplified spelling must be forgiven if they may now feel more confident of their ultimate triumph.

The majority of specialists in linguistics are on record in favor of improving English spelling as best we can. President Wheeler is the first of these specialists to come out in opposition; and it needs to be noted that he has exprest more than once his own individual opinion rather than the collective opinion of linguistic scholarship. Perhaps it is because his own special study has been Greek—which is a dead language—that he is moved to assert the supremacy of the written word over the spoken. Most modern philologists hold that language is truly alive only on the lips of men, and that something vital is lost when the written word is substituted for the spoken. Professor Skeat, for example, in his recent and radical paper on "The Problem of Spelling Reform," is emphatic in declaring "the elementary fact that all languages are essentially *spoken* languages."

Perhaps, again, it is President Wheeler's special study of a dead tongue, existing now only in its records, that leads him to assert that "uniformity in the written language . . . is a prime demand of civilized intercourse." Most modern philologists hold that diversity and variety are signs of vitality, and that uniformity would be a symptom of death. The late

[1] See "Orthography and Simplified Spelling," by Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California, in The Outlook for October 6. The reader will note that the changes in spelling recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board are used by Mr. Matthews in the present article, and will note also what slight change in appearance this involves.—THE EDITORS.

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Professor Child, the learned and loving editor of our old ballads, held an opinion diametrically opposed to President Wheeler's: "One of the most useful things just now is to break down the respect . . . for the established spelling. . . . I don't much care how anybody spells, so he spells different from what is established."

President Wheeler also goes out of his way to set forth again the obvious objections to phonetic spelling. But he misunderstands the present movement if he supposes that it has any relation whatever to so-called "fonetic reform." The Simplified Spelling Board has not advocated any phonetic spellings; and it does not intend to advocate any. It has tried to separate its action sharply from that of the phonetic reformers. It has never tired of declaring that its guiding principle is the progressive simplification of English orthography by the omission of useless silent letters. The application of this principle will not give us more "abnormal" spellings, as President Wheeler seems to fear. On the contrary, it will tend toward greater regularity by bringing many of the existing exceptions under the rule of analogy.

President Wheeler also objects to some of the three hundred simplifications on the Board's first list. But the Board itself did not make a single one of these simplifications. It only selected them from alternative spellings now in use. *Thru*, for example, is one of the Twelve Words simplified nearly ten years ago by the National Education Association; and it has long been in use in prominent periodicals—the Independent, for example, and the Educational Review. Furthermore, no one of all the three hundred is in itself important; and whoever wishes to aid in improving our orthography can adopt as many of them or as few as he may see fit. But what is important is the principle involved—the principle of simplification by the omission of useless silent letters. A friend of the principle is at liberty to reject any one of the three hundred, and even to denounce it, if he likes. So long as he votes the party ticket, he has a right to scratch those names on it that he cannot approve.



President Wheeler tells us that if these three hundred are all the changes proposed, "they lack system." What of it? The English constitution also lacks system; but nevertheless it is an efficient instrument of government. "If more are to be exacted, let us know what we are doing," he asks. The Simplified Spelling Board supposed that it had made its program plain; it intends to apply slowly and steadily the principle of simplification by omission—the principle which has bettered our spelling in the past and which is certain to better it in the future. This principle has recently been applied to German, and it is about to be applied to French. In English it would do its work tardily but inevitably, even if the Simplified Spelling Board had not been organized. It will do its work a little less slowly because of the labors of the Board; but the most the Board can do is to accept the principle, to apply it more widely, to accelerate its action as far as may be, and thus to make it more immediately effective.

President Wheeler is frank in his presentation of the absurdities of our accepted spelling. He is candid in admitting that our present orthography represents nineteenth-century words by means of symbols which stand for sixteenth-century sounds. He is generous in allowing that this is "undoubtedly a barrier to the acquisition of the language now extending itself as a common vehicle of intercourse beyond its natural habitat." He sees the defects and he points out the disadvantages; and then, instead of being moved to action, he appeals to everybody to let things remain in their present confusion. He wishes us to refrain from all effort for improvement, and to rivet upon ourselves for all future time the cumbrous chains of our present complicated orthography. Because he desiderates a "uniformity in the written language"—a uniformity which does not exist now in English and which never has existed in any language—he wants us to renounce the right to remedy the very evils he has set forth. He pleads eloquently for inaction. He asks us to let bad enough alone.

This is really what his argument

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amounts to, if it is seized as a whole. What the Simplified Spelling Board proposes is to accelerate a process which has been bettering our spelling slowly in the past two centuries. What he proposes is that this process shall be abandoned now, once for all, and that its action shall be inhibited by general consent. And here he stands forth as an innovator. What he is advocating is an absolute novelty; and what the Board wants is to preserve an immemorial principle. What he pleads for is equivalent to the putting in cold storage of our spelling as it happens to exist to-day. To adopt his plan would impose on English the stagnation of a dead language. Such a proposal is wholly without precedent. If it had been offered in the past, and if it had then been followed, we should still be spelling *sunne, phantasie, æra, œconomicke*, and *fysshe;* and perhaps we might not have been able to achieve even the useful distinction between *u* and *v*, between *i* and *j*—the introduction of which must have caused "an era of ghastly confusion in printing offices."

He sees so clearly the disadvantage of doing anything that he implores us to do nothing. And he fails to allow full weight to the many reasons why something ought to be done. The members of the Simplified Spelling Board do not yield to him in loyalty to our noble tongue; and they feel with him that it is a "priceless heritage." They want to do what they can to remove from the language the sole reproach that can be urged against it. They want to help it to accomplish its mission in the world. And they believe that they have the right to expect the sympathy, if not the active assistance, of all who love our language and who cherish its traditions.

Every simplification lifts a burden from the shoulders of future generations. It saves the time of the child and the money of the parent; and, what is even more valuable, it removes a stumbling-block from the child's path, since every analogy restored relieves him from reliance on his memory alone to the neglect of his reason. Every simplification renders English easier of acquirement by the immigrant, and thereby helps to fit the alien for citizenship, since so long as he cannot read he has little defense against the oral solicitations of the heeler and the henchman. And every simplification renders English easier of acquirement by the foreigner in his own land. English is now spoken by more human beings than speak any two of the rival European languages, and it is spreading more rapidly. It has a chance, in time, to win acceptance as the world-language; and the chief obstacle to this is the inconsistent complexity of its orthography. And therefore whatever hastens the simplification of English spelling advances the adoption of English as the world-language; it brings us nearer to a better international understanding, and to peace on earth and good will toward men.

# *AN ENGLISH VIEW OF AN AMERICAN STATESMAN*[1]

AN uncommon note in biography is sounded in Frederick Scott Oliver's "Alexander Hamilton," an appreciative study of a great American statesman by an English writer of no mean ability. In the first place, Mr. Oliver frankly sets out to depict Hamilton's career from Hamilton's own standpoint, it being his hope "to show Hamilton as he saw himself, and to judge him as he would have judged himself." And, secondly, addressing more particularly the English audience for whom the book was primarily written, he has made it a didactic biography not in an individual but in a national sense. As things appear to him, Great Britain to-day stands in sore need of a constructive statesman of the type of Alexander Hamilton, and in the greater need since he finds it possible to draw a somewhat close parallel

[1] *Alexander Hamilton: An Essay in American Union.* By Frederick Scott Oliver. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.75, net.

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between the situation existing in America during and immediately after the War of the Revolution, and the present situation in the British Empire. Then America was united solely by sentimental bonds, by the common purpose to achieve and sustain independence; to-day the British Empire is a unit in little more than name, its sovereignty diffused and indeterminate, its self-governing colonies practically independent, pursuing policies and cherishing ideals not always identical with those of the mother country. What is needed, in Mr. Oliver's judgment, is the advent of a man who shall, as Hamilton did, frame a programme that will make union a reality, a man who shall build not for the present but for all time. Herein, he declares, lies the chief interest of Hamilton's career. Quoting Talleyrand's dictum—"I have known nearly all the marked men of my time, but have never known one equal to Hamilton"—he adds:

"He is no local hero, but one whose work and greatness have a meaning for the whole world; and for the British race at the present time they have a special and intimate concern. . . . The work of Hamilton's life was the solution of problems which we have not yet found any means to solve. . . . Admitting frankly and fully that what he achieved is no precedent to govern our actions, his example is inspiring. We may draw morals from his fortitude and find encouragement in his success. And here and there, as we read his words upon the events and difficulties of a bygone age, the darkness and perplexity of the situation in which we find ourselves is lit up with sudden luminous flashes which pierce to the four corners of the canopy."

Having regard to the work's central object, the treatment is masterly. Mr. Oliver opens with a brilliant review of the war for independence, laying emphasis on the supineness and incapacity of the home authorities, the part played by command of the sea in deciding the issue, the achievements of Washington, and, above all, the fearful handicap imposed on the colonial cause by the lack of a strong central government, willing and able to support the commander-in-chief. Seldom have we had so convincing an account of the weakness and misdoings of the Continental Congress, and of the anarchistic conditions prevailing after the war so long as the several States clung to their claim of independent sovereignty. Then follows another graphic picture—that of the struggle for the adoption of the constitution, in which, as is made very evident, Hamilton was the unwearied and redoubtable protagonist of nationality. And now Mr. Oliver reaches that stage of his hero's career which justly evokes his most ardent enthusiasm. The development of Hamilton's union-welding, nation-building policy is traced *con amore;* each phase and its results are propounded lucidly and with precision. Finally, after a less happy survey of the period of Hamilton's retirement, with its factional feuds that brought about the downfall of the Federalists, he proceeds to apply the lessons of Hamilton's day and work to the present requirements of Great Britain.

It is scarcely to be expected that Mr. Oliver will persuade his fellow-countrymen of the error of their ways and thus succeed where acknowledged leaders of British thought have so recently failed. Altogether apart from the innate conservatism of the Englishman, his arguments lack force by reason of the many weakening admissions he is compelled to make respecting his parallel between the America of a century and more ago and the British Empire of to-day. But his book should furnish food for thought, and not to Englishmen alone. In our own country we are face to face with problems reviving in new forms the old issues of Hamilton's time, bringing into sharp relief the conflict between the idea of State rights and the idea of National rights; and if the logic of events is pointing to a Hamiltonian method of settlement, it is none the less salutary to have accessible such a treatise in government as Mr. Oliver's biography really is. There is always danger of forgetting the perils through which the Nation has safely passed, and thus of forgetting the paths along which safety has been found. To be sure, as Mr. Oliver properly insists, undue reliance on precedent means national stagnation; but it is, on the other hand, palpably absurd wholly to

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disregard precedent and hurry to the solution of problems without pausing to read and consider the lessons of history.

As a portrait of Hamilton the work exhibits most of the defects inherent in all admittedly partisan productions, and it further suffers from the animus apparent in the treatment of those within as well as without the Federalist party who placed themselves in opposition to "the little lion." Assuredly, if Mr. Oliver has succeeded in judging Hamilton as Hamilton would have judged himself, he has likewise succeeded in regarding Hamilton's enemies through Hamilton's eyes. But his is a singularly fresh and in many respects singularly charming study, distinctive alike in point of view, in method, and in style, and while it contains much from which the less prejudiced reader must dissent, it contains more that all may peruse with enjoyment and profit.

# *Comment on Current Books*

*The Beloved Vagabond* A tale of rare fascination and irresistible although quiet humor. It appeals to that love for the irresponsible, for the joys of the road, for vagabondage and the wanderer's life, which lies deep-buried in the most respectable and humdrum souls. Mr. Locke's Paragot is a philosopher and a scholar, with ideals and a heart history, yet his vagabondage is no romantic masquerade; indeed, it has become so much a part of his nature that when his honor is rehabilitated and he returns to society and his early love is restored to him, the transformation is impossible, and he breaks the chains to become once more the disreputable but lovable Paragot. The author shows artistic courage and literary skill in thus following human nature rather than the ordinary conventions of romance and sentiment. (The Beloved Vagabond. By William J. Locke. The John Lane Company, New York. $1.50.)

*The Boy's Life of Abraham Lincoln* It is a wonder, filled with beauty, how the life and character of Abraham Lincoln loom larger in the minds of his countrymen as the years go on. Miss Helen Nicolay has drawn her material for this story from the standard Life of Lincoln, to which she must have gone with filial pride. Every boy and girl should read this book, and take to heart the sentiments of honor, patriotism, and tremendous self-abnegation which breathe from every act of the great American leader. As our boys and girls read the newspapers and hear much of political corruption, it is well to recall an incident which followed Lincoln's election to the Illinois Legislature in 1834. It is recorded that at one time some of the leading Whigs made up a purse of two hundred dollars to pay Lincoln's personal expenses. After the election he returned the sum of $199.25, with the request that it be given back to the subscribers. "I did not need the money," he explained. "I made the canvass on my own horse. My entertainment, being at the house of friends, cost me nothing; and my only outlay was seventy-five cents for a barrel of cider, which some farm-hands insisted I should treat them to." And yet we hear far more of Jeffersonian simplicity than of the simplicity of Lincoln. This book should be in every public library. It is filled with inspiring, beautiful, pathetic, and humorous stories of the man who gave his life, daily, for his country. The pictures, by Jay Hambidge and others, are usually adequate and artistic. (The Boy's Life of Abraham Lincoln. By Helen Nicolay. The Century Company, New York. $1.50.)

*Brandes's Reminiscences of Childhood and Youth* These autobiographical notes by the well-known Danish critic, George Brandes, offer many novel points of view to the reader. The first chapters contain an appealing picture of the little boy, guarded and loved in his home, perfect in simple charm. The youth, restless, fermenting with daring thoughts, trying the world, making friends, and forming opinions, is the natural development of his race and environment. With light, sure touch he sketches for us the traits of his friends, the scenes he enjoyed abroad, and records his impressions with mingled sentiment and philosophy. In England, France, Italy, he was the critic, defining and dividing. He saw the contrast between the English and French mind expressed in Windsor Castle and Versailles. Fascinated by the poetic conservatism of moss-grown Oxford, he was repelled by the antiquated and non-popular instruction. The poverty of London oppressed him; crime in Paris was decked out and audacious—in London only ugly and wretched. While there is little in this narrative that is of permanent value, it is an interesting exercise to

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assume the writer's point of view, and look out of the windows he opens toward the world of social, artistic, and literary movement. (Reminiscences of My Childhood and Youth. By George Brandes. Duffield & Co., New York. $2.50, net. Postage, 16 cents additional.)

*Brier-Patch Philosophy* Mr. Long's new book is essentially a book for grown folks, but the name and binding somehow suggest the whimsical "Brer Rabbit," and one is somewhat surprised to find himself confronted by an old and serious question, Do animals think? This touch of surprise implies a criticism: the book is written in two atmospheres. To address humanity from the brier patch is an attractive, half-humorous idea which ought to preclude any very profound discussion. That is, the writer should never forget that he is "Peter Rabbit," no matter how serious the consideration of Darwin, Mill, and Spencer, or Kant, or Schopenhauer. As a matter of fact, Mr. Long abandons his rôle and loses himself in an extremely interesting argument; but when the reader is lending his closest attention to the question of animal immortality, for example, he is rather annoyed than entertained by the writer's sudden return to his imaginative responsibilities (the rabbit point of view), and he feels that the light touch of Charles Dudley Warner's "My Summer in a Garden" is needed in this instance; or—the alternative—a serious and legitimate presentation of philosophy. (Brier-Patch Philosophy. By "Peter Rabbit." Interpreted by William J. Long. Ginn & Co., Boston and London.)

*The Call of the Blood* Mr. Hichens tries here to do for Sicily what in "The Garden of Allah" he did for North Africa; that is, to make environment, the allurement of local color, racial instinct, the "feel" of the country, and the fascination of a people strange to Occidental civilization, all pervade and inspire the romance. Frankly, we find the attempt all but a total failure, while in the earlier book it was an unquestioned success. *Why* this is so would require too close an analysis; but one simple fact is that the introduction of characters and the laying of the groundwork of the drama are elaborated to the point of tediousness. Moreover, one neither believes in nor cares about the young Englishman with a Sicilian peasant grandmother, whose "call of the blood," when he spends his honeymoon in Sicily, makes him capable of dancing the tarantula instinctively and of quickly becoming a cad and a dishonorable lover. The latter part of the story is tragic and moves with some vigor—but too late! (The Call of the Blood. By Robert Hichens. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

*Christ and Science* That Christ's characteristic qualities of moral and spiritual strength and beauty are of central worth and influence in the universe is a statement which the gradual evolution of the spiritual man increasingly confirms. That Jesus Christ as a person is the center of the universe, and its creator, is quite another proposition, and this is the thesis which these lectures at Vanderbilt University maintain. The argument from Biblical texts to show that he himself "claimed" to be such is not of the sort required by a university audience, neither is the view that "matter" existed prior to its endowment with energy. There are well-conceived presentations of Christ's love of nature, of Christ as a teacher, and a model for teachers of science. There are analogies between Biblical and scientific truths. But the argument for the main proposition is too thin to expose to close debate. (Christ and Science. By Francis Henry Smith. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.25.)

*Dunny* This is a tender little love story in which a small boy somehow brings out the best side of everybody in a rough Western lumber camp. Dunny's sister is the heroine; journeying West to become the wife of a man whom she has never seen, she falls in love with another, her traveling companion, and the relations between these two lovers show human nature at its best. The story has its vein of humor, too. (Dunny. By Philip Verrill Mighels. Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.25.)

*Felicity in France* A delicately written and altogether agreeable record, not so much of travel as of observation. The writer talks about what interested her, cuts loose altogether from guide-book responsibilities, and chats leisurely of such matters as a Breton wedding, life in a convent, Provence and Mistral, the Brittany custom of the Benediction of the Sea, and much else of which the jaded and hustling tourist never hears, still less sees. The narrative style is constantly pleasing, and there are many choice bits in the way of ancient legends and modern peasant studies. (Felicity in France. By Constance Elizabeth Maud. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.)

*George Herbert* The tiny church where this modern saint ministered at Bemerton, near Salisbury and its cathedral, is still a shrine for the American tourist whom his hymns have touched. The steps of

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others to whom this memorial may give larger knowledge of him will turn thither on opportunity. Contemporary with Archbishop Laud, but a church reformer of far more lovable spirit, a courtier of princes, but a man of Christian humility, a friend and companion of the great, but zealous in the service of the lowly, a man in whose spiritual vision the commonplace of life became of divine worth, he belongs to all churches, and speaks to them still. In the present finely illustrated volume a review of his writings in prose and verse concludes the record of his career. (George Herbert and His Times. By A. G. Hyde. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.75.)

*History of Higher Education in America*

What others have given either in outline or in fragments is here given in detail and completeness. The ample volume fitly crowns the numerous writings on its general subject by which its author is favorably and widely known. The story of the oldest and of the newest foundations, the picture of the environing conditions in former and in later times, and of the advancing development, is given with many an enlivening touch of biographical notice and historical incident. Religious and ecclesiastical influences come into view together with the patriotic, scholarly, and scientific. The financial side of the history is not omitted, nor is the architectural. Of course the libraries and the graduate and professional schools have their appropriate chapters, and so do undergraduate affairs, including the Greek-letter societies and athletics. All this, however, is no mere chronicle; the lessons it yields are interwoven with it. No work on American history is more worth reading. In any work so full of details inaccuracies are inevitable, and this requires more careful revision than it has apparently received. The name of the President of Smith College is incorrectly given. President Gilman was not President White's classmate, but a year before him. The New Haven Grammar School was not founded in 1664, but in 1660. Nathan Hale was not "shot" as a spy, but was hanged. (A History of Higher Education in America. By Charles F. Thwing, LL.D. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

*The House of Islâm*

"The House of Islâm" is a cold, well-executed painting of a group of Mohammedans. The author has excellent command of his subject, but he writes with little consideration for his hearers, never appealing to their experience with that instinctive sympathy which helps to bring home to them the episodes of so foreign a narrative. As a result, the characters are peculiarly remote, and the story is difficult to follow; although a series of admirable pictures impresses itself upon the mind. (The House of Islâm. By Marmaduke Pickthall. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

*In the Days of the Comet*

Mr. Wells has disclaimed any intention to make his new book a presentation of his own views on socialistic theory, but as a story pure and simple it falls far below his "War of the Worlds," and other tales in which invention and characters were really uppermost in his mind. Here he depicts with graphic realism the sordid, squalid life of the English lower middle class and the selfishness of life under the present competitive system. By the cleansing and clearing influence of the comet, whose tail, laden with some strange chemical element, just sweeps the earth, every man and woman awakes after a stupor of some hours, filled with unbounded energy and without the old cobwebs of selfishness, class distinction, and greed. A sort of Utopia begins; old cities are wiped out; beautiful and noble ways of living are planned; misery and ignorance disappear. This latter part of the story is not very thoroughly worked out, and in plain fact is not interesting. The attempt to indicate a solution of the equal happiness of the two men who love the same woman is mystifying and rather ridiculous, if not worse. (In the Days of the Comet. By H. G. Wells. The Century Company, New York. $1.50.)

*Jane Cable*

This novel has the elements of popularity. Mr. McCutcheon has mastered the art of entertaining; he handles the reader's interest with perfect assurance, and while he touches upon none of the profound realities, he is successful in what he undertakes. Jane Cable is a well-told story, within the limitations of its class. The girl is a foundling whose unknown origin gives rise to the complications of the plot; her lover is the son of a man who is ultimately convicted of blackmail. The book will appeal to those who like a story for its own sake—a public already familiar with the writer's works. (Jane Cable. By George Barr McCutcheon. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50.)

*Joseph Vance*

This is a novel of the first order—one that aligns itself with the best English fiction—and it comes with something of a surprise in the stream of modern stories, because its quality of excellence relates it rather to the nineteenth century than to the twentieth. Its appeal bears no relation to questions of current

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interest, and there is nothing sensational in character or situation; the art of the book is fine along legitimate lines. It preserves the best traditions of the English novel, and its poise and maturity will commend it to experienced readers. It is the autobigraphy of a middle-class Englishman, and there is nothing new or original in the history of the boy who is born of uneducated parents and makes his way through his fine character and acute mentality. His education is made possible through the interest of Dr. Thorpe, who discerned something unusual in the little fellow who came with his father to assist in regulating drains and chimneys; and Joe Vance's love for the doctor's daughter Lossie is the love-theme of the story. If there is any weakness in the character of Joe (as a character delineation), it lies in his invariable strength; and one may question the ethics of his last sacrifice. But the work is so strong in every respect that there is little field for criticism. In certain ways the character of Joe's father is the writer's most artistic achievement. (Joseph Vance: An Ill-Written Autobiography. By William De Morgan. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.)

*Letters of Advice* That any one should imagine it possible to influence "Women in Love" by advisory letters indicates an incredibly sanguine temperament. Mrs. John Van Vorst writes four groups of letters to four American women occupying quite different places in the historical development of love. Her conscientious efforts to be "guide, philosopher, and friend" result admirably—in the book—but in real life we fear her dissertations would be relegated to the same high shelf whither every guide, philosopher, and friend has retired from time immemorial. (Letters to Women in Love. By Mrs. John Van Vorst. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

*Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle* These letters were published a year ago in two volumes, and now appear in a single volume; in this form they attain greater convenience and a reduction of price without any material sacrifice. (Mrs. Brookfield and Her Circle. By Charles and Frances Brookfield. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3.50, net.)

*A Modern Madonna* Mrs. Stanley's novel is based on the hideous injustice possible under a former law of the District of Columbia by which a man might will to another a child of his, even though at the time the will was drawn the child was yet unborn. This law has been repealed, and at first, therefore, the book may seem a little like writing an "Uncle Tom" after the Civil War; but in fact the fight of the heroine against oppression and inhumanity makes a tragical and melodramatic story of real power although without much literary grace. (A Modern Madonna. By Caroline Abbot Stanley. The Century Company, New York. $1.50.)

*The Plow-Woman* The long sweep of our great West stretches out far and wide in this interesting and well-managed romance by Eleanor Gates. Two girls with their crippled father come up from Texas to settle on a "section" in Dakota. One, the plow-woman, has to be the man of the family, and her strong body and brave, steadfast spirit carry her nobly through many hardships. The evil intrigues of the man who asserted a prior claim to their section, the dangerous outbreak of Indian captives from the near-by Fort, the menace of disorderly "Shanty Town" filled with camp-followers, all combine to prevent anything like monotony in the active lives of the three Lancasters. Dallas, the plow-woman, is a character extremely well conceived and consistently drawn. Her gentle pity for the dishonored Indian chief, the grateful service he gives her, and the sacrifice of his life in her defense make a beautiful and tragic tale. David Bond, the old evangelist, is a fine figure, hero and martyr. Altogether the varied group of men and women, the graphic description of scenery and conditions in the West, indicate the unusual powers of the author, and her wisdom in writing about what she knows so well. (The Plow-Woman. By Eleanor Gates. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1.50.)

*Some Chinese Ghosts* After an interval of nineteen years this very characteristic work of Lafcadio Hearn's reappears, and recalls the earliest impression of his singular power of reproducing the weird beauty and mysterious and elusive charm of the Oriental imagination. (Some Chinese Ghosts. By Lafcadio Hearn. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

*The Story of Martin Coe* Mr. Paine is not entirely successful in his delineation of Martin Coe. He is introduced as a young filibuster, deserter from the United States navy, and the character is well enough conceived, but a touch of caricature throughout weakens the personality and decidedly impairs the love story. The little New England village offers a rather interesting background for a figure of this sort, and the plot is quite ingenious, but the book as a character-study is lacking in close interpretation. (The Story of Martin Coe.

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By Ralph D. Paine. The Outing Publishing Company, New York. $1.50.)

*The Subjection of Isabel Carnaby* Whatever law determines the inferiority of sequels has evidently governed the production of this new story about Isabel Carnaby; it lacks entirely that sparkle which suggested Jane Austen in the original novel, and instead of revealing anything new in that very delightful young woman with whom the public became acquainted some time ago, there is a somewhat dreary insistence upon her charms and her superior tact and intelligence. As a character she has practically no organic connection with the plot, except as a standard by which every other young woman in the book is judged and found wanting. This story of her married life is not satisfying, although it is full of those clever generalizations for which the writer has a special gift. (The Subjection of Isabel Carnaby. By Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.50.)

*Traffic* In common with Mr. Thurston's novel of last year, the present story deals with Ireland and with the problems of the Roman Catholic priesthood and people. To say this hardly gives a fair idea of either book, however, as both are permeated with human interest and painfully tense human problems. Mr. Thurston is undoubtedly a novelist of the first rank as regards his power to present characters and situations vividly and forcefully. On the other hand, his work so far has not met the recognition that its literary ability merits, simply because he dwells too constantly on painful and sometimes repellent subjects. "Traffic" points out the hardship of that rule of the Roman Catholic Church which forbids divorce under any conceivable circumstances and under penalty of excommunication, so that the noble-hearted Irish girl of the story is most cruelly confronted with the fact that unless she would lose what is to her the only hope of heaven, she may not put away finally and by divorce her drunken, brutal, and bestial husband, and in plain fact may hold more hope of final salvation in a life of sin than in a marriage of the truest affection following a divorce. Mr. Thurston more than accomplishes his object of rousing the sympathy and indignation of the reader. His characters also are both lifelike and interesting. But the incessant painfulness of the situation is continuously distressing, so that the book is anything but a restful novel, while the plain speaking in describing coarse viciousness exceeds good taste and sound literary judgment. (Traffic. By E. Temple Thurston. G. W. Dillingham Company, New York. $1.50.)

*Two-Legs* "Two-Legs" is Man, and this imaginative little fable, translated from the Danish, deals with his gradual rise and his subjection of the animal kingdom. It is an entertaining bit of a volume, humorous, now and then almost poetic, at the same time basing itself on the actual processes of man's development. (Two-Legs. By Carl Ewald. Translated from the Danish by Alexander Teixeifa de Mattos. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.)

*Under Castle Walls* Romantic to the point of being almost burlesque. Its melodramatic style is slightly disguised by a touch of literary affectation. (Under Castle Walls. By H. C. Bailey. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

*The Upstart* A simply written and wholesome story of life in a small country town in the West during and after the Civil War. There are a good deal of genuine fun and plenty of action. Pat, "the upstart," son of a drunken Irish soldier who yet dies a heroic death, and of a big-hearted washerwoman, fights his way up bravely, is not ashamed of his mother or of his fine-spirited and jolly Aunt Bridget, makes his mark as a lawyer and politician, and finally "gets the girl"—the daughter of a raging Berserker of a Swede (we suppose it is a Swede, the book says "Dootchman"), who is "King" of the country all about, and with his six stalwart boys has terrorized the people. Altogether this is a vigorous tale, homely but dramatic. (The Upstart. By Henry M. Hyde. The Century Company, New York. $1.50.)

*The Wooing of Folly* This series of letters in which the Dewsnaps write down their impressions of New York, and in which a variety of individuals record their impressions of the Dewsnaps and of one another, is incidentally the romance of the daughter Folly, and primarily an amusing study of New York City. The Dewsnaps, who are newly rich, and the miscellaneous collection of persons with whom they come in contact, all express themselves in a style so clever and so fluent that one is very apt to forget the particular characters and remember Mr. James L. Ford, who is thoroughly enjoying an opportunity to say some entertaining things about New York in its social and professional aspects. Possibly the brightest of these bits of satire is his description of the intellectual drama and its interpreter, Miss Marjoribanks, who

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is playing "Anæmia Oversoul" in one of "Hauptsen's" plays. The book is neatly named, and the slight plot is well handled, but the whole would have gained in general interest as well as humor had it been based on a more sympathetic observation. (The Wooing of Folly. By James L. Ford. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

# Letters to The Outlook

### SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION

Mr. R. W. Raymond's letter in The Outlook for October 20 contains several statements that will not bear investigation. As a matter of fact, the alleged distinction between the Saxon and the French *u* does not exist. Whether this letter has one sound or another depends chiefly on its environment, and under similar circumstances its pronunciation is likely to be the same regardless of its origin. For example, the *u* in "ruby," a French word, is precisely like that in "rune," a pure English word; so also in "rust," which is English, and "rustic," which is French; so also in "mullein" and "multitude," while *u* in the last syllable of the latter word has exactly the same sound as in the first of "Tuesday." To call this sound of *u* an "almost unknown English sound," as Mr. Raymond does, is certainly a singular performance. Then, too, an educated German doesn't say "mooseek," but "moozeek." One would infer from what Mr. Raymond says that "through" was derived from the German, which is not the case; neither is the sound of the *u* in "durch" precisely like that of the *u* (or *ough*) in "thru" (or through).

According to Mr. Raymond, the pronunciation of "thru" is not identical with "threw," but on this point he would do well to consult some good dictionary, as the "Century," or even old Walker. If he pronounces "threw" to rime (or rhyme) with "few," it is to be hoped that he has not many imitators.

O. B. SUPER.

Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

### A SQUARE DEAL

It appears to me that if man desires to be just to man, and we can find out just what portion of wealth capital is entitled to, and what portion labor is entitled to, and then in a spirit of fairness give each its due, there should be found a way to settle forever this question of our day.

What has made the great wealth of the United States? Has the man who toils made it? Is labor entitled to the credit? Has the large accumulation of wealth in the hands of Carnegie and Rockefeller been made by labor? If so, how is it that these two men have so much and the laborer so little? If labor produces the wealth of the country, how is it that labor has so little, and the few, as compared with the many, so much? In fact, has labor had its fair share of what it has produced? If not, why? Is it right that it should go on and on, until force makes right? Is there not some fair way out? What is capital entitled to? Let us take, for illustration, the case of a man who has $50,000 invested in plant and material. He pays his weavers, warpers, winders, the market price for their labor. He pays his superintendent and heads of departments what he considers they are worth. He draws a salary himself for his services to the business. At the end of the year he has done a business of $100,000 and shows a net profit of $20,000.

As decided to-day, this profit belongs to the owner or company. But does it morally belong to him? Does capital take the entire result of the labor of this plant—that is, rightfully? This man has drawn all that his time and labor are worth, as well as have the workers on the looms. Does his investment of $50,000, then, give him the result not only of his own time and labor, but also of all those who have done their share of the work? To me this seems entirely wrong. His capital would have produced nothing but for the labor of those employed, for which he simply pays the market price. From my point of view there is a fair way out, and a just division of the result of the combined labor. What would this money bring if placed in saving banks or government bonds? Say from 3½ to 4 per cent. Would not, then, a return, for the investment of his money in a business, of 10 per cent. be fair? This would give him $5,000 for his investment. Then, if you please, a certain portion might be set aside for betterments, or wear and tear—say 20 per cent. of the remainder, giving $3,000 additional to the employer, and leaving $12,000 to be divided among *all* the workers in some just proportion, the *employer* with the *employed*.

It does not seem right to give capital the profit of all labor, simply paying what is forced by market value to the poor soul that struggles day by day to keep head above the swell, employer having so much, worker so little, the difference so very great. A weaver working on a loom should turn out on an average $8,000 per year, and if the net

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profit is twenty per cent., or $1,600, the capitalist takes it all, paying the worker, say, $600 for his labor; if forty per cent. of this could go to the capital and betterment, and the remaining sixty per cent. be divided among those who helped to produce it, I think that labor troubles would be a thing of the past, and, what is more, a very much larger production would be a result, and, still better, a much higher grade of goods would be made, for every man, woman, and child would work for himself, each knowing that poor work and neglect would cut down his yearly income.

This subject is a large one, and I have hardly touched it, but if the brotherhood of man is ever to be brought about, then must those who toil receive their fair share of what they help to produce. Dr. Abbott, in his article on Mr. Bryan, diagnoses the case right: he (Bryan) does speak for the people; and if Mr. Roosevelt holds to his purpose and refuses to stand again, unless a new Moses with all that Mr. Roosevelt stands for, and more, is brought forward, I will vote for Mr. Bryan should he be the candidate of the Democratic party, and thousands of other Republicans will do likewise. For the old issues are things of the past, and it is the future we look forward to, and the uplift of labor to its own; and, as Dr. Abbott says, "They would not despoil their neighbor of any property honestly acquired, but they would despoil him of the power to monopolize any of the avenues of trade or to control any of the functions of government." The people feel that the United States Senate with such men in it as Clark of Montana is not to be trusted. C. M. K.

### *A GOOD WORK*

The Co operato, which has recently moved from 348 West Fourteenth Street to 444 West Twenty-third Street, New York City, has been endeavoring to supply the need of a hotel for low-salaried working-girls for a number of years. A full account of this work was given in The Outlook in its issue of December 17, 1904. Here girls who receive less than $8 per week are received, and pay what they can—from $2.50 to $3.50. With an increase of salary they are expected to secure homes elsewhere, in order to make room for those less fortunate—and there is always a host of applicants to take their places. It is on this account that the managers desire to call the attention of the public more fully to this work. They are crippled in not being financially able to secure larger accommodations. There is no question of creed or nationality at the Co-operato, good character being all that is required for admittance; and friendless, penniless girls are not turned away, but taken in and cared for until they can find work. Such a house, with its orderliness and opportunities for simple pleasures, cannot fail to be an uplift to these girls, many of whom are born to far different surroundings, but have been unfortunate in earning a proper livelihood. It endeavors to be a real home, and it has succeeded so well that the girls who have bettered themselves are very loth to leave.

* *

### *CHURCH AND HIERARCHY*

It is rather disappointing to find in a periodical like The Outlook such an erroneous statement as the following: "Another passage discards the Roman conception of the Church for the Calvinistic: 'The Church is not the hierarchy alone, but the universal assemblage of the faithful.'" (p. 284, Sept. 29, 1906.)

In no manual of instruction published by Roman Catholics is it stated, nor was it ever maintained, that the hierarchy alone constituted the Church. Any penny catechism could have given the correct idea to the writer of the above paragraph. The Baltimore Catechism says (quoting from memory) that "the Catholic Church is the congregation of all the faithful, who, being baptized, profess the same faith, partake of the same sacraments, and are governed by their lawful pastors under one visible head on earth."

Canton, Ohio. E. P. GRAHAM.

[Our correspondent will observe that in the passage quoted "the Saint" was combating an impression of some Italian Catholics that the hierarchy was the Church. How did their impression arise but from the conduct of the hierarchy? A man's conception of reality appears not in what he says as in what he does. What practical conception of the Church prevails at Rome was demonstrated when the hierarchy, assembled in the Vatican Council in 1870, forced upon the Church the dogma of papal infallibility, and deprived the Councils of the Church of their ancient right as the tribunal of final decision in Church questions. The papacy, as the center of the hierarchy, and its fountain of power, is as absolute an autocracy as France was under Louis XIV., and could say of the Church what Louis said of the State—"I am it." Of course it says no such thing, but it *does* it. That is just what The Outlook meant to emphasize as "the Roman"—not the Catholic—conception of the Church as contrasted with the Calvinistic. The latter and the genuinely Catholic are identical—"the universal assemblage of all the faithful."—THE EDITORS.]

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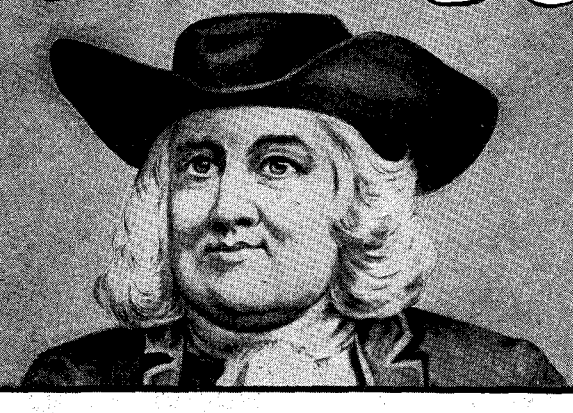
# Quaker Oats



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is made by a process that has taken years to perfect. It is the quality of the white oats used and the completeness of the process of manufacture, that gives this distinctly different flavor to Quaker Oats. The surest proof of the superior goodness of Quaker Oats is for you to order a package today and try it yourself. The proof is in the eating.

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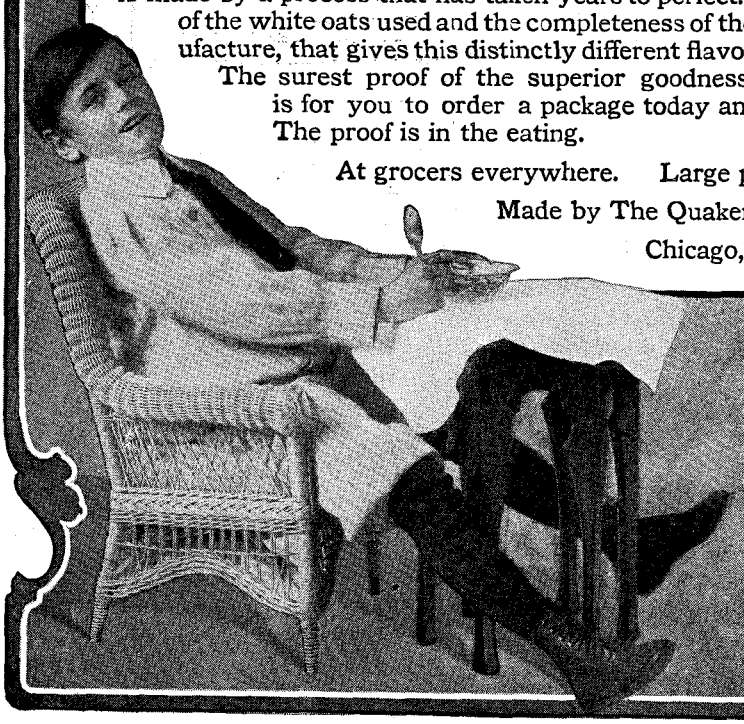

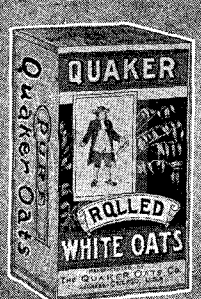



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# When You Look in Your Mirror Are You Satisfied?

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EVERY WOMAN should preserve her health, strength, beauty, poise and, with these, her happiness. It is my success in treating nearly 20,000 women and my knowledge of what my work has done for them that makes me know I can do as much for you.

Let me give you a perfectly balanced organism. Let me give you a perfect blood supply and circulation; a nervous system in which each nerve center properly directs the organ it controls. The resultant strong vitality will enable you to resist disease, and I will make you what you were intended to be—strong, happy, graceful, beautiful—loving and beloved, with a mental calm which is life power and true beauty, making your life a satisfaction to yourself, making you the delight and admiration of your friends.

MISS COCROFT AT HER DESK

**Only 15 Minutes a Day** Give me 15 minutes of your time each day, in your own home, by following my simple directions. Just a little care is all you need to make you the ideal woman of your type. Do not say it is impossible, that nature has not given you the first requirements of health and beauty—I know it is possible; I have accomplished it for thousands

**Drugs are Dangerous**

I use no drugs. I never treat a pupil I cannot help. If I cannot help you I will tell you so.

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If you could sit beside me, at my desk, I could, if I would, show you, daily, hundreds of letters from pupils I have helped. I never violate a confidence, never show a letter without permission; but here are a few snatches from one morning's mail:

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I wish every nervous teacher could know what benefit is to be derived from your physical culture.
I have lost 73 pounds, and was never better. I look ten years younger.
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Just think how I have gained, since I began with you, from 112 to 137½ lbs. in one year.
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My head is steady, the confused feeling having passed away. It is the best spent money ever used for myself.
Just think, Miss Cocroft, before I took up your work I could not eat anything without the greatest distress, and now I think I could DIGEST TACKS. I am so happy.

**How to Stand and Walk** Remember, I give you personal instruction, after careful study of your symptoms and condition. When you request details about my lessons, I send you, **Free**, a booklet showing you how to stand and walk correctly, with a card of correct poise for your dressing table.

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Height
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Weakness
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Kidneys
Lungs
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*NOTE—Miss Cocroft, as President of Physical Culture Extension Work in America, needs no further introduction.*

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Tell the average man or woman that the slow but cumulative poisonous effect of caffeine—the alkaloid in tea and coffee—tends to weaken the heart, upset the nervous system and cause indigestion, and they may laugh at you if they don't know the facts.

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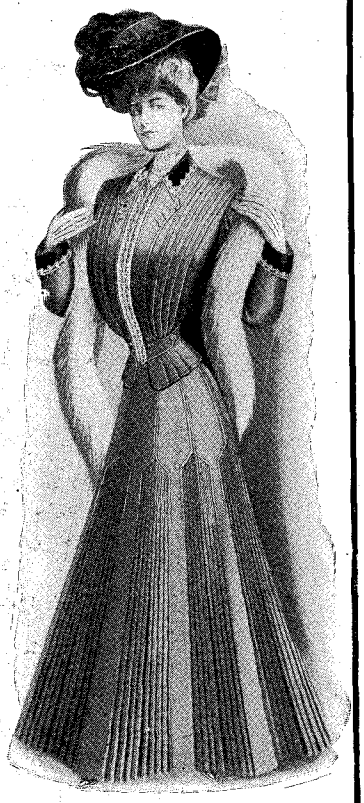

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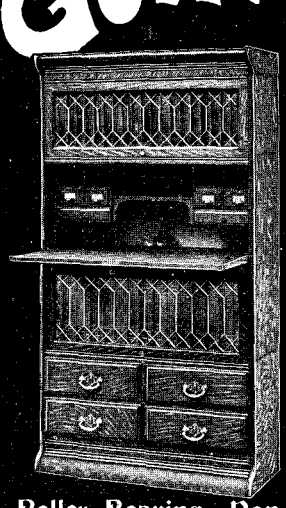


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